An Advertiſement.

Reader:

WHereas the Title-page of this Book pretendeth, that this Second Edition is *Corrected*, thou art not to underſtand it ſo, as if any material alteration, or change were made from the ſubſtance of the Authors ſenſe in the Firſt; but principally in reſpect of Orthography, and ſome better diſtinguiſhing of the ſentences: wherein it is manifeſt the Firſt Edition was very faulty. It were to be wiſhed, that this Edition might have been found, in that reſpect, faultleſs; however ſomething was endeavored for the better, which is all that is to be ſaid here; ſave, that intreating thy Candid and Favorable Interpretation of the whole matter, The Publiſher wiſheth, that (if it were poſſible) an Act of Oblivion could be had for all offences of this nature, (done or ſuppoſed to be done) on either ſide; and that we may Cordially, by Gods good grace, unite again (as once we were) in that Truth, which only is able to ſubject us perfectly unto God and good Government.

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Michael [illegible] M.

Jeruſalem and *Babel*: OR THE IMAGE OF BOTH CHURCHES.

BEING A TREATISE Hiſtorically diſcuſſing, WHETHER *Catholikes* or *Proteſtants* be the better Subjects.

By *P. D. M.*

The Second Edition, Reveiwed and Corrected.

London, Printed in the Year. 1653.

Matthew Patenson

Michaelis Pauli, & Fr. Mon-Ben

XUM

✳ There's none at all so lovely as Christ, God, & Man.

The greatest Love of Christ is the greatest Wisdom.

The greatest Delight in Christ is the greatest Happiness.

Let us see you O God always present, always dreadful always lovely; so that you may be to us always all in all.

M. S. S.

An Advertisement.

WHereas the Title-page of this Book particularly, and this Second Impression in General, does not so understand it to, as if any material alteration, or change were made from the substance of the Author, both in the First, but principally in respect of Orthography, and some other differences of the moments: wherein it is manifest the Fifth Edition was very faulty. It were to be wished, that this Edition might have been found in that respect, satisfactory: something was endeavoured for the better, which it shall not be satisfactory to any, that love to read Candid and Favorable Interpretation of the whole matter. The Publisher willingly (if he were possible) an Act of Oblivion could be had for all offences of this nature, (done or imputed to be done) on either side; and this he may Confidently, by Gods good grace, ingage again (as once we were) in that Truth, which only is able to subject us perfectly unto God and good Government.

Fairy Elves and Belvi:

OR THE

IMAGE

OF

CHURCHES.

A TRAGEDY.

As it is now Acted at the

Theatre Royal.

By J. D. Jr.

The Second Edition, Revised and Corrected.

London, Printed in the Year.

1 6 5 3.

To the
High and Mighty Prince
CHARLS,
Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwal*, Earl of *Chester*, &c.

SIR,

IT hath ever been the custom of ENGLAND, at the marriage of the Prince, to present unto him some Con-

Contribution, Benevolence, or free-will Offering, as a token of their joy. And therefore have I preſumed, among the reſt, to preſent unto your Highneſs this poor Oblation, (like that of *Virgils* Sheepheard, *Mitia poma, Caſtaneas nuces*,) out of my duty, ſervice, and loyalty towards you. The rather, becauſe this

firſt

first Scene of your actions abroad upon the Stage of glory, viz. your journy into SPAIN, and marriage in a Family, *unde nescit aliquid mediocre nasci*, hath afforded here much occasion of discourse, to every man according to his humor; (for to the multitude it is proper to be talkative, and curious to know any

thing, but what they should; And because also at your return, you may finde peradventure many, like Watermen on the Thames, looking forward and rowing backward, more apt to censure that which is best done, then to apprehend the reasons why it is done: Therefore to stop the mouth of *Polypragmon*,

and to draw this flood of discourses into a Channel; that neither the course, nor the cause be mistaken; and that men may learn rather to obey Commands, than to dispute *Arcana imperii*; I have been bold to touch upon some points, and reasons for the match: *Quod fœlix faustumque sit.* A storm of tongues shall

not be able to ſhake vertue, nor cancel the records of fame: without partiality, *Suum cuique pretium poſteritas rependet*, after ages will confeſs what was beſt. Great perſons are like the Planets, which the more glory they have; the leſs reſt they have. Clouds often overſhadow them: But the beams of their vertue break out at laſt. Now becauſe,

because, Sir, that building is perpetual, where God laieth the foundatino, your highness cannot do an act more Heroical & Prince like, then to appear a Mecœnas towards Religion, that is, (if not to give it priviledge, yet) to get it liberty, and to Sollicit *Cyrus*, that *Israel* may return and build their Temple. So shall we be obliged to pray

pray for the life of Cæsar, and to write your Highnes's name upon our Altars, and Church doors; with this Motto, *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.*

Your Highnes's most humble Oratour, and Servant.

Gratæ Posteritati.

Gentle Reader;

I Present thee, in lieu of a Preface, an ingenious invention borrowed of our English Lucan, full of judgement, and proper to my argument, The which judiciously understood may serve as an Introduction, fit for to illustrate this discourse, and as a fair Portal, to let thee in with somewhat more delight into this great Amphitheater which follows, wherein

in thou maiest see the Tragedies and Tumults of these latter ages, for the quarrel of Religion, as truly represented, as they were acted.

* The reason of the Poem is this. The world hath been ever (though most of late) haunted by Three evil Spirits, which combine together to break its Peace, & confound all things: they are Curiosity, Singularity, and Faction. Curiosity is the Mother of Innovation, and the Root, from whence spring all those Fancies, Heresies and opinionum com-

commenta, *which deceive and distract the world so much.* ✕ *Singularity nurses this issue; and as a Harbenger to ambition, takes up all such hearts, as are apt to entertain Presumption, and* Philautia, *Two of her inseparable attendants: For she is always* great *with the love of* her self, *and contempt of* others; *labouring by the plausibleness of some new opinions to perswade men, that she onely is worthy to guide the Chariot of the Sun.* ✕ *Faction is the Champion of the other Two, and defends* 2 3

defends the Monsters which they beget, masked under the forms of Truth and Reformation. Curiosity is an impostume of the Brain, bred there by some pestilent vapors rising from a corrupt, or proud Stomach, which makes a Quære, *and* Quare; *upon all principles and truths received. Singularity catching at such Theorems of Curiosity, as best like her, plays the Dictatress, subject to no controule, but censures and over-rules all, with that old and impudent fallacie,* Eritis sicut Dii, yea shall

be

be as wise as Gods, if you will but learn of me. Faction, as Flagellum Dei, Gods scourge, armeth them both, with power to afflict whomsoever contradicts them. None of them all are apt to obey, but Singularity will command, making an Idol of her own judgement, which yet is commonly, like a glorious Tombe, full of rotten Bones; or Like an Eye fair to shew, yet purblinde. Faction never pretendeth want of Spirit, which, if it conquers, shews little mekery: of subdued,

dued, as little patience; in all conditions unquiet and mutinous. These are the Three Furies, which torment the world at this instant; That Cerberus Triceps, *that having broke his Chain, in stead of guarding, openeth Hell Gates, and fills the world with all kinde of imposture, deceit and calumny.*

If you ask me quorsum hæc? *to what purpose tends all this? read the discourse following, and you will see plainly enough, how to apply all that hath been said. Be wise, and farewel.*

Out

Out of the Sixth Book of of the Civil Wars between *Lancaſter* and *York*, by *S. Daniel.*

FEirce Nemeſis, *Mother of fate and chance*
Sword bearer of the Eternal Providence, &c.
Turns her Stern look at laſt into the Weſt,
As greev'd to ſee on Earth ſuch happy reſt.
And for Pandora *calleth preſently,*
Pandora Joves *fair guift, that firſt deceiv'd*
Poor Epimethes *imbecillity,*
That thought he had a wondrous Boon receiv'd

By

By means whereof curious mortality
Was of all former quiet quite bereav'd,
Who being come, deckt with due qualities,
The angry Goddess breaks out in this wise;
Dost thou not see in what secure Estate
These flourishing fair Western parts remain?
As if they had made Covenant with fate,
To be exempt, and free from others pain;
At one with their desires, friends with debate,
In peace with Pride, content with their own gain;
Their bounds contain their mindes, their mindes apply'd
To have their bounds with plenty beautify'd.
Devotion (Mother of Obedience)
Beats such a band on their Credulity,

That

That it abates all thoughts of Eminence,
And buries them with humble piety.
For see what works, what infinite expence,
What Monuments of zeal they edifie.
As if they would, so that no step were found,
Fill all with Temples, make all holy ground.
But we must cool this Albeleeving zeal,
That hath enjoy'd so fair a turn so long, &c.
Dislike of this first by degrees must steal
Upon mens souls, as if perswaded wrong.
And that most sacred power, which this hath wrought,
Must give her self the Sword to cut her throat.
Go therefore thou with all thy stirring train
Of swelling sciences (those gusts of greefe)
Go,

Go, loose the links of that soul-binding chain,
Awake this uninquisitive beleefe.
Rowse up mens thoughts, that simpleneß detain,
Enter their hearts: Let knowledge be a Theef
To open all doors, and let in such light,
As all may all things see, but what is right.
Opinion arme against opinion grown,
Make new born contradiction still arise;
As if Thebes *founder* Cadmus *tongues had sown,*
In stead of teeth, for greater mutinies;
Bring new defended faith against faith known;
Weary mens souls with contrarieties.
Till all Religion becomes retrograde,
And that fair Tyre *the mask of sin be made.*

And

And better to effect a speedy
end,
Let there be found Two fatal instru-
ments,
The one to publish, th' other to de-
fend
Impious contentions and proud discon-
tents;
Make, that instamped Characters may Printing.
send
Abroad to Thousands, Thousand mens
intents.
And in a moment may dispatch much
more
Then could a world of Pens perform
before.
Whereby all Quarrels, Titles,
Secrecies
May unto all be presently made
known,
Factions prepar'd, parties allur'd to
rise,
Sedition under faire pretences
sown;
Whereby the vulgar may become so
wise,
That with a self-presumption over-
grown,

They

They may of deepest mysteries debate,
Controule their betters, Censure Acts of States.
And then when this dispersed mischief shall
Have wrought confusion in each mystery,
Brought up contempt of States in general,
Ripen'd the humour of impiety,
Then take that other Engin, wherewithall
They may advance their self-wrought misery;
And scourge each other after strange a wise
As Times or Tyrants never could devise.

Babel

BABEL:

OR

Monarchomachia Proteſtantium.

NOt many years ſince, upon divulging of a Letter, written by Maſter *Aldred*, againſt the Match with *Spain*, and of that ſcandalous Libel againſt the Ambaſſador Count *Gondamour*; as alſo by the inſtigation of ſome Hot-ſpurs in their Pulpits; the people of *London* were much incenſed to ſnarl and murmur even at the very name of *Spain*; and every Artificer preſumed, like an *Ariſtarchus*, to cenſure the King for

that Negotiation, as for an error of State, which might possibly cast the whole body of the Kingdom into a distemper. As if (forsooth) the Kings affection to the Kingdom, and his own issue, had been unnaturally frozen, or that his judgement had failed him, and those Superior Planets of the Counsel had also lost their light, and erred in their course. Whereupon I was urged by divers of my good Friends, to write the Apology of that Action and Proceeding; because some of them had heard me deliver, at sundry times, not onely a full Answer to all the Objections of the contrary faction, but also divers Reasons in defence thereof, founded, as they thought, upon very just and solid considerations.

2. And truly, to speak what I think, the benefits which the Realm may reap by this match, are such, and so advantageous, as I wish it rather done, then disputed on. For first, it setleth a firm Peace between both

both the Kingdoms; which is a matter of greater importance, then they seem to apprehend, who so much oppose it. Secondly, Traffick will thereby be established and increased, when the Seas by a concurrence of both Kings, shall be scoured of Turks and Pyrats. Thirdly, The Kingdom will be again stored with Treasure and Coyn (provided we keep it lockt up within our Four Seas, and not suffer so much of it to be offered daily to that Idol of *Cambaia.*) Fourthly, The Crown will be disengaged from a burdensom weight of Debts, and by consequence, the Subject likely to be much eased in matter of Contribution and Taxes. Adde hereunto the renewing and confirmation of the ancient Treaties with the House and Dukes of *Burgundy*, which is not to be reckoned as a Cypher in the business; and what it is to have so great a Monarch, as the King of *Spain*, a firm friend and ally, *England* very well knoweth. It is

true, the Kingdom was never so full of Money, as it was by spoils and depredations, betwixt the years 1576. and 1590; but how dear those purchases might have cost us, wise men saw, if God (who had determined to give the Crown of this Nation to her issue, who suffered both disgrace, and death here for his glory) had not made both Winds and Sea, at that time, to fight for *England*. Lastly, *Virginia* (a Colony of ours tenderly to be regarded) shall hereby settle her Staples and Mart, and advance their Trade by a much safer passage and entercourse with the Islands: But to me it is above all arguments, That this Match is so much for the Honor, Safety, and Commodity of Prince *Charls*, which every true Patriot, I conceive, is bound in conscience to further and advance.

3. But thus we shall be said to leave *Holland* in the bryars, an old and assured Friend, and of power upon all occasions to assist the Realm. *God grant the Prince never stand in need*

need of them. And for our ſelves we may remember, how ſmall furtherance, nay, rather how great hinderance they have been to the Traffick of this Realm; and what great loſſes and damage our Merchants have ſuſtained by their means, in the *Indies*, *Muſcovy*, and *Greenland*. I need not tell you, how chargable a Neighbor they have been, nor how unſure a Friend, ever preferring *France* before *England*; and yet notwithſtanding the Favors, which they may ſtill receive at his Majeſties hand, are neither few nor ſmall; if themſelves by inconſiderate courſes deſerve not otherwiſe.

But what cauſe do they pretend, who murmur ſo much againſt *Spain?* They object the Sin, the Curſe, the diſparagement to Match with a Catholike. Have they any reaſon for that? Yes: Becauſe the *Jews* were not permitted to marry with the *Ammonites*, nor Religious perſons with the profane. But that is an opinion, which reliſheth too

much of Judaism, and the Talmud; the Bar is removed, we are now under the Law of Grace; both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, Circumcision and Uncircumcision, in Christ are united and made one, and incorporated into one Body, his Church. It is true, the *Jews* might not marry out of their Tribes, because the promise was made to *Abraham* and *his Seed*; therefore *his Seed* was not to be stained with impure blood, or a commixture of Paganism. But now, the promise being already performed, that Judicial Law is abrogated. Yea, say they, but still it sheweth, that God is not well pleased, when his children mix with superstitious people. True: But who are the Superstitious? and of which side is the true Religion? We know that is a question, and will be. But this is out of question, That they are both of them Christians, both are Baptized into that blessed Name, both lay hold on the promises, on the Testaments, on the Gospel, both pray the same *Pater Noster*, both

both confeſs the ſame *Creed*; yea, both reverence the firſt Four general Councels of the Church. Who indeed is the Catholike, is *Filius Chriſti*, of the ſurer ſide, by reaſon of the Mother Church, and of the elder Houſe.

But is it indeed ſo ſtrange a thing, that a Proteſtant ſhould marry a Catholike? not to ſpeak here of Queen *Elizabeths* Treaty with Mounſieur (which yet how far and fairly it was proceeded in, by both parties, our famous *Camden* ſhews at large.) Did not *Henry*, King of *Navar*, a Proteſtant, and the Protector of the Proteſtant Churches in *France*, marry with the *French* Kings Sifter, a Catholike? It was *propter bonum publicum* (as this is) for publike tranquillity and peace ſake; and therefore did the Elders and Conſiſtory of *Genevah* ſo much as check or reprove him for it? nay, did they not allow it? The ſame King afterward matcheth his own Siſter, an earneſt Proteſtant, to the Duke

5. *Camd. in Elizab.* *Thuanus lib.*

Thuanus lib. of *Lorrain*, who is known to be a Prince no less earnestly Catholike, and a Champion of the Catholike Church in *France*. Nay, did not *Lewis* himself, the Prince of *Conde*, and Protector in chief of the *Hugenot* party, when time was, apprehend with great desire the overture of a marriage with *Mary*, Queen of *Scotland?* and which certainly had taken effect, had not the Admiral, for his particular interests, laid blocks in his way. But above all others, it is memorable, and by us *Englishmen* not unfit to be considered, what a bloody quarrel it was made, that King *Edward* the Sixth, who was a Protestant King, and the first that ever was known in *England*, might not marry Queen *Mary* of *Scotland*, a Papist, as all the World knew; yet the Protector made it no scruple of Conscience, to pursue that business to the utmost hazzard. *Calvinism* and *Lutheranism*, are themselves as opposite as the *Antipodes*, yet they enter-marry frequently, and their issue

Thuanus lib. Lesl. hist. *Scot.* in *Mariâ Stuartâ.*

Goodwins Annals, in *Ed.* 6.

iſſue bear witneſs thereof. 6.

Was it then tolerable in the Reformed Churches, and is it now intolerable with *Spain?* Or is there any particular cauſe of ſcrupuloſity and fear in this overture, more then in thoſe other? doth the State of the Kingdom, and fear of alterations, trouble them? that fear is vain. The Husband is head of the Wife, and though the *Infanta* be born *in Familiâ Imperatrice*, yet there is no Soveraignty inveſted in her, ſhe can make no mutation of State, leaſt of all without conſent of the State; and we have little cauſe to diſtruſt her, having had ſuch a preſident before of King *Philip*; who being king of *England*, yet neither did, nor could attempt of himſelf, any alteration. And if the *Engliſh* be ſure to hold their Religion, it were neither Juſtice, nor Humanity, if ſhe ſhould be denied hers. There is no man of Honor would offend a Lady of her Dignity, for a difference that concerns her Soul, her Faith, her De-

votion towards God. What then is the reason, why this Match seems so distasteful? Is the name, are the qualities of a *Spaniard* become so odious amongst us? Surely, *ab initio non fuit sic*, of old it was not so, it is neither an ancient quarrel, nor a natural impression in the *English*. In the time of *Edward* the Third, there was a firm and fixed amity between *England* and *Portugal*, and from that *Lancaster* of *England* the Kings of *Portugal* are descended. As for *Castile*, *John* of *Gaunt* married *Constance*, the Daughter of King *Peter*, by right of whom the Crown of *Castile* appertained unto him; and his Daughter *Katherine* was married afterward to *Henry* the Third, King of *Castile*; upon which Match, as appears yet in the Records of the *Savoy*, *John* of *Gaunt* resigning that Crown, the controversie ended; and the Kings of *Spain*, as flourishing Branches of the Tree and Stock of *Lancaster*, have ever since quietly possessed that Kingdom. So that Prince

Charls

Charls by this Match is likely to warm his Bed again with some of his own Blood. I might adde further, that King *Henry* the Seventh married his Son to King *Ferdinands* Daughter, on purpose to continue the Succession of that amity. I might remember the Treaties of 1505. between King *Henry* the Seventh, and *Philip* of *Austria*, Son in Law to King *Ferdinand*, for the preservation and strengthning of that League: And how much the amity of *England* was esteemed, and how readily embraced by *Charls* the Fifth, Emperor and Grand-childe of *Ferdinand*, appeareth very well by the Treaty *Arctioris Amicitiæ*, in the year 1514. And by that renowned Treaty of *Calice* (the greatest Honor perhaps that ever was done to the *English* Crown,) and by the Treaty 1517. between *Maximilian* the Emperor, *Charls* King of *Spain*, and King *Henry* the Eighth; not to speak of the Treaties for entercourse in the years 1515. and 1520. nor of the

Treaty

Treaty at *Cambray* 1529. nor lastly, of that famous one 1542. Let it suffice, that by them all it is manifest, with what mutual, constant, and warm affections both Crowns, and both Kingdoms, entertained the strictest correspondence that could be; till the Schism of *Henry* the Eighth, and disgrace done to Queen *Katherine*, by that unhappy Divorce, and the Kings confederating with *France*, made the first breach: So as in those days we see, there was no such unkindness, no such hatred, no such Antipathy betwixt the two Nations. The first spark of difference between them brake out in Queen *Maries* time, about the matter of Religion; no other pretext could be found, to make that breach which *Wyat* desired. Yet neither is this the true, nor the sole motive of the grudge, which is now taken: There is an other impostume, which will not be cured without lancing: The remembrance, the hatred ever since Eighty Eight, *Manet altâ mente repostum*,

repoſitum, Sticks ſtill in our Stomacks; and it is moſt true, *Hinc illæ lachrymæ*, from hence ſprings all our pain. Well; but let us be as indifferent as we can; let us conſider, not onely their attempts upon us, but the provocations, that is, the wrongs which we firſt did unto them. Let us remember the Money intercepted, which the King was ſending unto *D'Alva*, the want whereof, at that time, hazarded well nigh the loſs of all the *Netherland* Provinces, ſo lately reduced; the aſſiſtance given to the Prince of *Orange*, by *Gilbert*, *Morgan*, and others; the firſt voyage of Sir *Francis Drake*; the ſacking of Saint *Domingo*; the Protection of *Holland* by *Leiceſter*; the infinite Depredations, Letters of Mart executed to the infinite damage of the *Spaniards*; beſide, the *Philippicks*, the invectives which were in every Pulpit, the Ballads and Libels in every Preſs were provocations, ſuch as Fleſh and Blood would not endure in the meaneſt perſons. I ſpeak nothing

Strad. de bell. Belgic.

Camd. in *Elizab.*

nothing at all of the *Portugal* voyage, nor of the ſurprize of *Cales*, nor of the *Iſland* voyage; but can any wiſe man think, That the King of *Spain* ſhould not be ſenſible of ſuch indignities? Was it not probable, nay, was it not equal, that he ſhould ſend a fury to *Kingſale*, to revenge theſe wrongs?

7. And yet notwithſtanding this Hoſtility, when His Majeſty came to the Crown, how friendly, yea, how quickly did the King of *Spain* alter his courſe, and ſend the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, as the Dove out of the Ark, to ſee if the Flouds of Enmity were any whit faln, and to ſeek Peace with an Olive branch in his hand, to eſtabliſh a general *Amneſtia*, or Perpetual Oblivion of all unkindneſs paſt, to bury all quarrels, and reconcile the two Crowns and Kingdoms into an everlaſting Friendſhip. And ſurely, curſed will he be, that ſeeks to violate this Peace, and under colour of Religion to extirpate Charity and publike concord. And I pray, what

what would be thought of the loyalty of that man, who ſhould now ſet himſelf to trouble and exaſperate mens mindes with the old feuds and quarrels, which this Nation hath had with *Scotland?* But ſtay here, my Pen muſt intrude no further, without warrant, into the Labyrinth of this ſecret Councel: I know not whether it be agreeable to the Kings pleaſure, or no; or fit matter for private Subjects to diſcourſe upon. I know very well, how unſearchable the ſecrets of Princes are, in what an abyſs they lie, and how much too deep to be ſounded by every ſhallow diſcourſer. I remember alſo, what Praying and Preaching here was againſt the Match of Queen *Elizabeth* with Mounſieur, a buſineſs of very like nature with this in hand, and declaimed againſt, upon the ſame pretended peril of Religion, alteration of Government, and what not? Yet it is very well known, That thoſe of the Councel, who did moſt oppoſe it, were men, which of all others,

others, were thought to care least for Religion. Sir *Philip Sidney* indeed, (like a Noble and worthy Courtier, as he was) endeavored by a short Treatise, to present unto Her Majesty the unfitness, disproportion, and inconveniencies of that Match, both in relation to Her Person, and the whole Realm; but he did it privately, and with discreet circumspection. *Stubs*, like an indiscreet and fiery Zelot, taking the question in hand, and prosecuting it in a way more likely to incense and corrupt the people, then to advise or inform the Queen; his hand paid for his presumption. And though some of the greatest and wisest of the Councel appeared very earnestly for it, as a thing which was likely to unite the whole Kingdom of *France* unto *England*, and would surely bring along with it the offer of the *Netherlands*, by the Prince of *Orange*, and the States, whereby *England* was like to become a potent Monarchy; yet was the whole Body of the Kingdom cast into much

Camd. in *Elizab.*

much distemper and jealousies thereby: Some upon partiality and faction, others upon distrust of the practises of *France*; some for their own; some for their friends finister ends and ambitions; as in this very case, I am perswaded, men are not a little possessed with the same diseases and humors. And if I did not well know the nature of the multitude (which is a Beast with many heads, and as mad brains) I should wonder, how they durst oppose the designs of their Sovereign, a Prince of so great Experience and Judgement, and who hath managed this business from the beginning with such wariness, caution, and prudence, as this great Conjunction cannot portend any other effects, then honor, comfort, and prosperity to the whole Nation. Is he not the fittest to judge in his own case? And his case being the case of the Commonwealth in general, if any private man shall arrogate to himself either more wisdom to amend what is already done,

done, or pretend more affection to the State, or more providence to foresee and prevent inconveniences; certainly he must needs fall into the custody of the Court of Wards, till he recover himself. But having said this, I shall leave the whole matter as a deliberative still; and tell you in few words, what the occasion was of this Discourse, which followeth.

The occasion of the following Discourse.

1. THere met at a Merchants House in *London* (where Merchants, for their Table and Hospitality, do worthily bear the Bell from all the Merchants in *Europe*) divers persons of quality, where being together in a Garden before Dinner, *T. Aldreds* Letter, the Pamphlet aforesaid, and some strange reports of seditious practises from *Amsterdam*, were read, and discoursed upon. In the midst of all, comes in a fine

fine Chaplain, belonging to a great perſon in *England*, and one that was of the Merchants acquaintance; who hearing but a little of the diſcourſe (which at that time was the common Table-talk of City and Country) with much vehemency he affirmed, the Match was likely to breed great troubles and miſchief to the Kingdom; and that (forſooth) in regard, as well of the increaſe of Catholikes within the Realm, which it would occaſion, as alſo in regard of *Spain*, which he ignorantly called an ancient Enemy. Hereupon alſo he took occaſion to rail bitterly againſt the Church of *Rome*, as the Seminary of all the commotions in *Europe*, and the contriver and plotter of all Treaſons in *England*. And being reſolved to ſhew his Rhetorick in the Ruff, and to omit nothing, which might exaſperate the company againſt Catholikes, he alledged for examples, in thundering language, the death of King *Edward* the Sixth, (fillily enough that, *Heywards Reign of Edw. 6.*

that, you will say) the many conspiracies against Queen *Elizabeth*; but especially that horrible project of the Gun-powder Treason, which being undertaken onely by a few desperate Male-contents, in justice might rather be buried with the offendors, then objected perpetually to innocent men, who do generally with great sorrow abhor the very memory of the fact, and were publikely acquitted thereof by the King himself in the next Parliament following. Besides this he urged, That Princes be disquieted, yea, endangered many times by Excommunications, Bulls, and other censures from the Pope, by the Catechisms and Doctrines of Jesuites; and that the Subjects of *England* are withdrawn by them from their obedience to their lawful Princes: Lastly, That they are a people so full of treacheries and disloyalty, as no Nation can shew the like. He forgat not, you must think, to arm himself with the authority of Doctor *Morton*, whose Maxim

See the Kings Speech in Parliament.

Maxim it was, *That we may now as well expect a white Æthiopian, as a good Subject of that Religion.* He produced a Book entituled, *A discovery of Romish Doctrine in the case of Conspiracy and Treason*; wherein, the Author playeth his master-prize against poor Catholikes with equal malice and indiscretion, charging them with an infinity of scandalous accusations, able to drive men into despair of the Kings Grace towards them, and to breed in His Majesties Royal Heart an everlasting distrust of them. He urged Parson *Whites* rash and uncharitable judgement against them, That all their Religion was full of such Doctrines, as afforded Monsters of conspiracy against the State; that they teach men to murther Kings, to blow up Parliaments; and that since *Bells* time, never was there such a ravenous Idol found, as are the Priests of the Seminaries. *Ormerode* also, that famous Picture-maker, was alledged in this heat, who by a great mistake, took upon him to condemn

the

the singular and renowned Doctor *Allen*, as affirming, That Princes may be slain by their Subjects, from the Text, *Numb.* 25. At length he concluded all with that Rhetorical flourish of Monsieur *Lewis Baily* in his Book of *The Practice of Piety*, pag. 783. which he produced with much ostentation, as if it alone had been enough to cast the whole Society of the Fathers into a fit of a Quartane: *Jesuites and Priests*, saith he, *are sent to withdraw Subjects from their Allegiance, to move Invasion, and to kill Kings: If they be Saints, who be Scythians? Who are Cannibals, if they Catholikes?* This conclusion, for the art and wit of it, could not but deserve a plaudite; so the company went to Dinner, and after Dinner this fine Chaplain was gone in haste. Thereupon, some of the company, not so much taken with his Rhetorick, as were the rest, desired a Gentleman then present, who well understood the World, and was a freeman, not obliged to any particular order, further then

as

as a Son of the Church, to deliver his opinion of the Ministers invective; which at last, upon their much importunity, he was perswaded to do, in such maner, as is here, with his leave, and particular information, represented to you.

After some pause, *Claudius accusat Marchos*, quoth he, *Catilina Cethegum*. This is most ridiculous; who can endure to hear a *Gracchus* inveigh against *Sedition?* A man may perceive by the Prologue, That Protestants have set it down as a decree against Catholikes, and labor to imprint it as an Eternal scandal in the hearts of the people; that Catholike Religion and Doctrine is dangerous to the State, an Enemy to Sovereignty, and therefore neither allowable nor tolerable in a well governed Monarchy. Now this being a matter of so great importance, as indeed it ought to be esteemed (for *querelam Ecclesiæ quilibet Catholicus facit suam*, every good Catholike thinks himself injured, when the Church is wronged.) 2.

ed.) I will endeavor to sift out the truth, and shew you, what is therein to be holden as matter of infallible verity; as well to justifie them, *viz.* the Catholikes, as to inform my self in a point, which I know hath made many good men in *England* to stagger much. And that I may not wander in my discourse, nor lead you up and down in a Labyrinth, I will shew you first the true state of the Question to be argued, and the method in which it is most regularly propounded.

3. First therefore we demand, *Whether to be a Catholike*, that is, one who professeth due reverence unto the Church of *Rome*, *and to be a true Subject to his Prince and Country*, be incompatible, or no? Secondly, If they be incompatible, *whether this incompatibility*, or repugnancy that is betwixt them, *be general*; that is, as unto all Principalities and States; *or particular*, that is, to some one, or to some few onely? Thirdly, Whether it be so *originally*, and ever, or onely *casually*; that is, at some

ſome particular time, or upon ſome particular joyncture of affairs in State? Fourthly, Whether it be ſo *ſimpliciter loquendo*, and as *malum in ſe*; that is, whether the being a Catholike, be lookt upon as a thing *evil intrinſecally*, and in its own nature; or that it be onely *accidentally ſuch*, or made ſo by particular Statutes and Laws? Laſtly, whether *Lutheraniſm* and *Calviniſm*, be not more incompatible with *Loyalty*, more oppoſit and contradictory thereto, and that *ab origine?* To judge rightly betwixt Catholikes and Proteſtants in this grand charge which we have in hand, it is neceſſary, that every one of theſe particulars be cleerly conſidered and reſolved; and ſo I oblige my ſelf to do, at leaſt to endeavor, before I end my diſcourſe: But yet to pay Maſter *Parſon* ſome thing in his own coyn, I ſhall make bold to begin with the laſt Queſtion firſt, and in lieu of his general, or rather hyperbolical accuſations of our Doctrine, to return him double

measure, both of Doctrine and Practise, in each kinde, from his own men: That is, I will examine and declare *ob signata tabulis*, and by evidence of fact, That the Treasons, Factions, Seditions, Tumults, which have so troubled all the Kingdoms of *Europe*, and filled Christendom with blood and calamity, for these hundred years last past; have sprung not so much from any opinions or practises of Catholikes, as from the opinions and practises of Protestants; and that the egg of this Cockatrice was not laid at *Rome*, nor *Rhemes*, nor *Doway*, (as the World must be made to believe) but indeed, and very truth, at *Wittemberg*, at *Smalcald*, at *Genevah*. And this I shall do not Theologically, or like a Divine, (for I will not arrogate so much to my self) but Historically, sincerely, plainly, being one that desires to defend the Loyalty of Religious and Innocent men, rather then their Opinions and Doctrines, which they are best able to maintain themselves; and as

as a faithful relator of what my ſelf have both known and ſeen, and learned the reſt from others; of whoſe authority and credit in this kinde, no juſt doubt can be made: Neither ſhall I affect any rhetorical flouriſhes, or elegancy of ſtile in this diſcourſe. Integrity and Truth (which I profeſs) appear always moſt gracious in their own unborrowed beauties; they need no paintings, no art, no colours. Come we then, by the Will of God, to our intended buſineſs.

Titulus Primus.

LUTHERANISM; OR The Troubles in GERMANY.

IN the year of our Lord, 1514. the whole Church of God enjoyed Peace, and her ancient Priviledges; all Princes with great devotion were Nursing Fathers and Protectors of her; no Storm did trouble her, no Schism to break her Unity: There was an harmony, a good correspondence (as to matters of Faith and Religion) between the Church of *Rome*, and all the Princes and States of Christendom; and till then, neither in *England*, nor in any other Country of *Europe*, had there been such a Question ever

ever disputed; *viz. Whether a Catholike might not be a good Subject.* In the year 1517. *Martin Luther*, an *Augustine* Fryer, a man of a turbulent spirit, learned, but never counted any famous Clerk, was the first that broke this long and happy Peace. This man unhappily interposing himself in the business of Indulgences, which were sent at that time by Pope *Leo* the Tenth into *Germany*, although it concerned not him further, then he made himself the Proctor and Advocate of his Order; yet having once begun to inveigh against the injury done to his fraternity, as he conceived, (for as much as the Preaching or publishing of those Pardons, was committed unto the *Dominicans*, and not to them, *viz.* the *Augustinians*, as had been usual before) he fell afterwards to tax the abuses and covetousness of the Collectors, and then to question even the authority of them, by whom those Collectors were nominated, and such a levy of money required in

Surius in Chron. *An.* 1517.

that nature. This was a popular and plausible Introduction, fit to win upon the vulgar, who can never well endure the pressure of Contributions, especially extraordinary, and where the covetousness or scandal of Officers gives any occasion of murmur. He quickly therefore found many favorers; but much more, when he began to exclaim against the ambition of Prelates, against the ryot and disorders of Religious men, taxing some for Tyranny, some for Avarice, some for Idleness and Ignorance, all for corruption and abuses. In this maner he stood in arms, and, as it were, a challenger for some years, onely against the defects of the Clergy, and without much danger: For divers good men at first conceived, That he onely intended and sought Reformation of disorders, and restoring of Ecclesiastical Discipline, punishment of irregularities, and amendment of life. And this they did not without some cause: For Saint *Hildegardis* had fore-

foretold a ſtorm to the Church for their ſins; *Savanarola* a *Dominican* had awakned *Italy* with predictions of terror; and Frier *Thomas* of *Guien* propheſied a *Ve, Ve*, a ſcourge and deſolation to *Bourdeaux*, an inundation of miſery to *France*, and the whole World: All theſe not long before *Luthers* time.

Who finding thus, *Populo placere, quas feciſſet, fabulas*, that the ſport, which he had begun, did take with the people (as novelty is ever welcome to the World) and that his actions and deſigns ſeemed generally to be applauded; that many of the beſt wits (eſpecially ſuch as had been bred in *Eraſmus* his School, and were any way touched with his humor) were ready to ſecond him; yea, perceiving that ſome of the greateſt Princes in *Germany* were content, (though for other ends) not onely to give him hearing, but incouragement alſo in his proceedings; the mans ambitious and vain conceipts of himſelf were infinitely raiſed above his firſt projects: 2.

Whereupon, as a man ſick in his ſpirits, and of a fiery diſeaſe, he begins now to rage againſt, and to defame all Church Government, he abandons his Cloyſter, throws of his habit, breaks, yea, tramples upon his vows, renounceth all obedience to his Superior, Preacheth againſt the whole State of the Clergy, and eſpecially againſt the Superiority of the Biſhop of *Rome* (which was ever unto this time, held Sacred in matters Eccleſiaſtical) as againſt a Tyranny in the Church; perſwading the people not to render any kinde of obedience to them. The Pope himſelf (whom yet not long before, and ſince the beginning of the difference, he had honored with the title of Chriſts Vicar, and proteſted unto him very much humble Reverence and obedience) he now calls *Sathaniſſimum Papam, Meſſire Aſno*: The Prelates he calls Blinde guides, the Religious men Swine, Candles put under a Buſhel, and what not? And why, think you, Preacht he all this?

this? Becauſe (forſooth) otherwiſe the people ſhould live in darkneſs ſtill, in the ſhadow of death, ſtill be led and miſled by ignorant and blinde guides, ſtill remain in ignorance, and in the Captivity of *Babylon*. This Prologue having gained him attentive Auditors, he begins the Tragedy, which was afterwards acted, as you ſhall hear, with ſuch incredible Sedition and Tumults: His whole ſtudy was now bent to undermine the Church, and to aboliſh all Eccleſiaſtical order; which by conſequence was of neceſſity to ſhake the Foundations, and hazzard the State it ſelf: Yea, this humor led him with ſuch vain and extravagant hopes, That he imagined to conquer the whole World, and to ſubdue the Pope himſelf, whom he was the firſt, that ever abſolutely affirmed to be *that Antichriſt*, *Man of ſin*, and deceiver of the World, whom the Apoſtle mentioneth, 2 *Theſ.* 2.

He was the more encouraged in theſe proceedings, for that now, 3.

1519. *Maximilian* the Emperor was dead, whose power and wisdom he had great cause to dread; and that *Charls* the Fifth was chosen to succeed him; a yong Prince, not fully Twenty years of age; whom therefore he vainly hoped, he should be able to perswade to subdue the Popes power, to keep his own Court at *Rome*, and make the Castle of Saint *Angelo* subject to his commands; and that by the assistance of such an Emperor, *Martin* should be able to reform the Church, and cast it into what mould he pleased; especially seeing *John Frederick*, the Elector and old Duke of *Saxony*, was already his sure Friend and Patron; who for his strength, riches, alliance, and other abilities, was far Superior to any other Prince of the Empire.

Surius in Chron.

4. Hereupon therefore first of all, he proclaims, as it were, open war and defiance to all the Bishops and Ecclesiastical State of *Germany*, endeavoring, what he can, to weaken their authority, to abrogate their power; yea,

yea, to make them odious and contemptible to the whole World: Therefore in his Book intituled, *Contra Statum Ecclesiæ, & falso nominatum ordinem Episcoporum:* He sends out a Bull against the said Bishops, in these words, *Attendite vobis Episcoporum umbræ*; *Hearken*, saith he, or rather, *Look to your selves, ye Mock-Prelates, ye Bishops in show, or shape onely*; *Doctor Luther intends to read you a lesson, which he thinks, will not be much pleasing to your tender ears*; as indeed, it was not likely it should be. For after a short Exhortation, he gives advise, what his godly Auditory should do well to see performed, *viz.* To this horrible intent or purpose. *Quicunque opem ferunt, bona, famam, sanguinem impendunt*; *Whosoever*, saith he, *will venture their Lives, their Estates, their Honor, and their Blood, in so Christian a work, as to root out and destroy all Bishops and Bishopricks (which are the Ministers of Satan) and to pluck up by the Roots, all their Authority and Jurisdiction in the World*; Hi sunt dilecti

Tom. 2. oper. Latin. *Jenæ.*

dilecti filii Dei, &c. *These, yea, these, are the true children of God, and obey his Commandments.* And again in his Book against *Sylvester Prierus*: *Si fures furcâ, latrones gladio, hæreticos igne tollimus. If*, saith he, *we dispatch common Felons with a halter, Malefactors at the block, and Heretick; by fire.* Cur non magis hos magistros perditionis; *As for these sons, yea, masters of perdition; these Bishops, Cardinals, Popes*, &c. *Why should we not fall upon them with open force, and not cease, till we have bathed our hands in their blood?* Was there ever such an Incendiary heard Preach? But, *Objicient*, saith he going on, *periculum esse; Perhaps some body will be telling us, it may cause Tumults and Sedition in the common people: Tush*, saith he, *I answer, must the Word of God be prohibited, and the people perish for fear of Tumults?* The two Mar-Prelates of *England* and *Scotland* were not possessed with such a spirit as this; and though they were mad enough, yet they came not up to such a height

Tom. 1. oper. Latin. *Wittemberg.*

of

of fury. Let the Lawyers therefore judge, *Brunus*, *Minſinger*, *Gail*, whether this Sermon and Proclamation of *Luthers*, would not bear an Action of Sedition and Conſpiracy; and whether it were conſiſtent with the Laws and Peace of the Empire, any more then it was with the duty of a good man. For hereby was the people taught and encouraged (when they ſhould be able) to pull down and deſtroy thoſe principal Pillars in the State of *Germany*, *viz.* The Archbiſhops of *Mentz*, *Colen* and *Triers*, the Primate of *Magdeburgh*, the Archbiſhop and Prince of *Saltzburgh*, the great Maſter of *Pruſſia*, the Biſhop of *Wurtzburgh*, *Bambergh*, and many others; who, beſide their Spiritual Relations (which were ſo eminent in the Church) had alſo a voice and place in the Imperial Dyet, and thereby a great influence and hand in the Government of *Germany*. Can this be avowed to be the act of a dutiful or loyal Subject of the Empire? Doth any Law, Reaſon, or Example warrant

warrant it in Civil Government? That a private man, himself a Subject, of himself alone, should attempt thus insolently against the chief Magistrates, and Princes of the Country where he lives? That a Sheep should presume to depose the Shepherds? And by such wicked suggestions, stir up Insurrections and Rebellion against persons of so eminent quality, both for Place and Calling? Nor did he ever cease, or give over these Preachings, till out of *Saxony*, *Hess*, and *Wittemberg*, yea, generally out of all places, where his Seditious Doctrine prevailed, he had expulsed, or procured to be expulsed, the very name, as well as the Authority and Jurisdiction of Bishops.

5. *Cochlæus in act. Luther.*

Neither staid he here, but as fury and success lead him, proceeded further. At *Wittemberg* he took upon him to burn, not onely the Popes Indulgences, Bulls, and such like, but even all the Canon Law it self, that he could but get into his hands. If you ask, by what warrant?

rant? He gives you none but his own Authority, his private ſpirit was Commiſſion, and pretence of the Goſpel (as he called it) all the Apology he could make for ſuch pranks. An inſufficient pretence certainly: For although it be true, That the Canon Law, for the moſt part of it, be *originally* nothing but the Conſtitutions of Popes at ſeveral times and occaſions publiſhed, yet much of it is alſo the decrees of Councels, Provincial, National, and Oecumenical, and all of it ratified by preſcription, (which is Common Law) by general approbation and uſe of the Country, and by the Imperial Laws themſelves; and therefore his audacioufneſs was intolerable, in giving ſo publike an affront to the Government of *Germany*, as well Civil as Eccleſiaſtick: And the Laws themſelves (how needleſs or inconvenient ſoever, this vain man could imagine them, yet) could not be lawfully and orderly ſuppreſſed in the Empire, but by the Authority of the Empire

Empire it ſelf. But as he did thus preſumptuouſly, and of his own head, abrogate (ſo far as he could) the Canon Laws; ſo did he vilifie and deſpiſe the Civil Laws alſo, as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter in due place; for as yet we muſt trace him in his extravagancies and furies againſt the Church.

6. Having loſt his own ſenſes through pride, and overmuch confidence of himſelf, he was willing that all the World ſhould be blinde; therefore he endeavors to introduce Barbariſm, and to put out the eyes of his *Almayns*; that in ſuch ſtate they might not be able to ſee, either his errors, or their own folly, to be ſo much abuſed and bewitched by a Sot. Univerſities muſt down; which becauſe *Cambridge* and *Oxford* will not (perhaps) believe, I ſhall produce his own words in his Book againſt *Ambroſius Catharinus*: *Ad Evangelium funditus evertendum, nec aſſutius, nec efficacius commentum, &c.* The Devil, ſaith he, *never invented a more*

more cunning, and more pernicious means to root up utterly the Gospel of Christ, then the design of founding the Universities. And that no man should go about to colour or excuse this Paradox, by some favorable interpretation and sense, he seconds it with another elsewhere, full as absurd or worse: For dissuading the people from sending their children to be bred up in the Universities, he passeth a sentence of condemnation on them in these words: *Academias per idolum* Moloch *figuratus puto. I am of opinion,* saith he, *that the Idol* Moloch *in old time was a Type of these Universities:* And therefore, that it was as unlawful for the people to send their children thither for breeding, as it was of old for the children of *Israel* to give of their sons to be consecrated unto that Idol, of which we read, *Levit.*20.2,3,4. The reason he gives is like his assertion, *Ex isto enim fumo: for out of the smoke,* saith he, *of these Universities do arise all those Locusts, which at this day possess the Chairs;* Lib. de abrog. Missæ.

Chairs; that is, the places of Dignity and Honor in the Church. But why will the man have all Universities thus suppressed on the sudden? Is it because Catholike Religion and School-divinity was taught in them? that can hardly be thought. For why did he shut up the School-doors at home, at *Wittemberg*, where he prevailed for many years together? Why did he neglect the teaching and educating of youth in his own Religion and Profession? Why did he forbid *Aristotle*, *Tully*, and other Authors to be read, who meddle not with Religion? Why did *Carolstad* chuse rather to go to Plough, then read a Lecture? Nay, his own *Fidus Achates*, *Philip Melanchon* in his Book called *Didymus*, commends *Witcliff* for a wiseman, *Qui omnium primus vidit Academias esse Satanæ Synagogas*: Because *he*, forsooth, *was the first that discovered the* Christian *Universities to be Synagogues of Satan*. Well said Master *Philip!* in whom indeed so loose an assertion was the more to be

Cochlæus in Act. Luther.

Vlemberg. in vitâ ejus.

be wondred at, being himself otherwise so great a Scholar. But thus we see, what a spirit of confusion and giddiness possessed them at the beginning, and how uncertain they were all, what to hold or maintain: But above all others, this was true of *Melanchon*, who was indeed a very *Academick*, always *Sceptical*, inconstant and wavering; so as neither himself, nor his own party knew well, what he was: And for this opinion in particular against the Universities and Humane Learning, he retracted it in his Book *Ad Waldenses*, which *Carolstad* would never do; and therefore died very miserable and poor in the Country. *Ulemberg. in vitâ Philippi.*

7. You may perceive by this, that at the first rising of these men, and their Preaching of Reformation, the spirit (to which they pretended had not in many years perfectly illuminated them, nor cleared their judgement from many and stupid absurdities of Error, to which men of but common discretion are not usually

usually Subject; which we may not a little wonder at, seeing men extraordinarily called by God (and such they would be thought to be;) as for example, the Prophets, Apostles, St. *Paul*, and others, were compleatly fitted for their work, from the first instant of their vocation. It appears also, what *Luthers* design was, *viz.* At three blows to have cut down three great Cedars of the Empire, *The Clergy*, *the Canon Law*, *the Universities*: For without *Universities* the Clergy could not well be educated, nor without *Laws* could they be governed; and so being necessarily chained together, he could not break the Link, without subverting all. Neither did he, as it is cleer, seek a Reformation, but an Extirpation of them all together. And this I dare affirm, That all those hundred *Gravamina* presented unto the Emperor *Charls* at *Noremberg*, did not contain one quarter of the danger, mischief, and publike calamity, which these three Articles would

would have brought upon *Germany*, could they have been executed to his minde. And yet behold a greater miſchief followeth, if greater be poſſible; for I am now to lay down ſome few of his Poſitions of State, by which it ſhall appear yet further, what prodigious incivility, arrogance, and preſumption was in the man; and to how great contempt and prejudice his proceedings tended, not of Eccleſiaſtical Prelates, and perſons onely (whom he made it, as it were, matter of Conſcience, and a part of his Goſpel, to revile and ſlander) but of the Emperor himſelf, and the other Princes of *Germany*, yea, of all Princes, States, and Magiſtrates whatſoever, that ſtood in his way, and complied not with his ſtrange and exorbitant courſes. And to diſcover his ſpirit the better, you ſhall have a taſte in the firſt place of his behavior with King *Henry* the Eighth of *England*, a Prince at that time famous and renowned, as any in the World; and whom, but a little

little before, upon report of his disgust with Cardinal *Wolsey*, he had extreamly flattered and bedaubed with praises: But now finding by some tartness in the Kings answer, That it was but to build castles in the air, to expect any favor or countenance from him; the poor Frier runs presently mad with rage, and fowl language. The King is no longer now a King with him, *but an evious mad fool, full of basturdy and baseness; he hath not a vein of Princely blood in all his body; he is a Basilisk*, to whom this impudent *Apostata denounceth damnation. A glorious King indeed, that lyeth most stoutly, and like a King.* Nay, *He is a lying Fellow covered with the title of a King*; not a King, but *a Sacrilegious theif.* Lastly, which is the height of all imaginable scurrility and rudeness, *Jus mihi erit, Majestatem tuam fierevore conspergere: If I were neer you*, saith he, *I should make bold to dress such a Majesty as it deserves.* The passage is so extreamly fowl, that to render it otherwise,

Lib. cont. Reg. Anglia.

otherwiſe, would both offend the Reader, and defile the Paper. I omit infinite more of the ſame ſtamp and ſtain, which the Reader, if he pleaſe to be further curious upon ſuch a ſubject, may finde gathered together by no leſs honorable a perſon then Sir *Thomas Moor*, Lord Chancellor of *England* in thoſe times, and publiſhed by him in a Latin work of his againſt *Luther*, Printed at *Lovain* in the Year, 1566.

Nor was his behavior towards the Emperor himſelf and Princes of *Germany*, much better. He not onely wrote a Book expreſly with this title, *Againſt the Two Edicts of Cæſar* (which we muſt alſo know were Edicts legally publiſhed, and with conſent of the other States and Princes of the Empire) but therein he openly chargeth the Emperor himſelf, and the other Princes with falſe play. *Turpe eſt Cæſarem ac Principes manifeſtis agere mendaciis. What a ſhame is it*, ſaith he, *that an Emperor and Princes ſhould lie* 8. *Surius ad annum.* 1521.

lie thus palpably. And in the ſame Book, of the ſame perſons ſpeaking, *Deus mihi dedit negotium. It is Gods will,* ſaith he, *that in this buſineſs I ſhould not have to do with reaſonable men; but, I ſee, theſe wilde Beaſts of* Germany *will murder me, if they can.* And therefore more bitterly, maliciouſly, and traiterouſly afterwards, *Oro cunctos pios Chriſtianos. I beſeech,* ſaith he, *all godly Chriſtians, that they would onely pray for theſe blinde Princes, by whom God afflicteth them in his great wrath; but,* ſaith he, *let us not follow them by any means, let us not ſerve them in their Wars, nor give them any Contribution againſt the Turk:* (For that was a thing either then in debate, or but lately conſented to by the States of the Empire,) *For the Turk,* ſaith he, *is a Prince ten times wiſer, and more honeſt then they: And what good, I pray, can ſuch fools expect againſt the Turk, who do themſelves ſo horribly blaſpheme and offend God?* Will any man think this tolerable? but he proceeds. In his Book againſt the Five hundred

Art. 367.

hundred Articles, *Quid ergo boni in rebus Divinis? What good, think we,* ſaith he, *can ſuch impious and wicked Tyrants appoint in matter of Religion?* Before they were fools, now they are Tyrants. And ſtill he goeth on from worſe to worſe, that is, higher and higher, as it were, by degrees in his impudence. For in his Book *De Sæculari poteſtate*, concerning the *Civil Magiſtrate*, or the *Powers of the World*, He delivers his opinion of all Kings and Princes in general; and how he would have them eſteemed, in theſe words, *Scire debes, &c. You muſt know*, ſaith he, *that from the beginning of the world to this day, it hath ever been a rare thing to finde a wiſe Prince; but more rare, to finde one that was honeſt: For commonly they are the verieſt fools and knaves in the world.* And again, *Quis neſcit, &c. Who knows not*, ſaith he, *that Princes are like Veniſon in Heaven*; very dainty and rare, it ſeems; ſcarſe one of a thouſand perhaps ſaved. This was the charity of the man towards Chriſtian Princes in general; as

for the Emperor himſelf, in his Book *De bello contra Turcas*, he expreſly denieth him to be *the head of Chriſtendom*, or ſo much *as a defender of the Faith*; and leaſt this might be capable of ſome tolerable ſenſe, he explicates his meaning plainly in the reaſon which he giveth, *Eos namque eſſe peſſimos hoſtes*; *For*, ſaith he, *Emperors and Princes are commonly the greateſt enemies, which Chriſtianity, and the Faith have*: Yea, in his Book *Contra Ruſticos*, againſt the Boors, (which was an occaſion and ſubject, where, if ever he meant to do it, a man would think, he was obliged to favor Magiſtracy and Civil Dignities, yet even there) his Language is the ſame, or worſe. *Sciatis, boni domini, Deum ſic procurare, quod ſubditi nec poſſunt, nec debent, &c. You muſt know, my good Lords*, ſaith he, *That God will have it ſo, that your Subjects neither can, nor will, nor ought any longer to endure your Tyrannical Governments.* Mark well that *debent*, *they ought not*, it was not put in for nothing,

nothing, I warrant you. Those good men, the Boors, were not altogether, or too much to be discouraged by that Book of his, though titled against them; it having been from his Sermons and Doctrines commonly divulged, that they took the cheif grounds of their Insurrection.

Did ever man before him vent such seditious Paradoxes with impunity? Can such assertions as these come from the Spirit of God? Did ever any of the Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, use such barbarous liberty of speech, against the worst of *Neroes*, *Diocleſians*, *Julians*, that ever persecuted the Church? Did *Elias* speak thus to *Ahab* and *Jezabel*? and yet his flatterers commonly call him the *Elias* of *Germany*. St. *Paul* (if he had pleased to regard him) gave him a far better example, using *Festus* the *Roman* Governor with much more reverence. And without all doubt, no true Christian zeal can be so irregular, so rude, so intemperately passionate

9.

Acts 26. 25.

and ſcurrilous. To revile, and ſpeak evil of dignities, is the property of another ſpirit, then the Spirit of
Jude 8.9. God, or elſe Saint *Jude* deceives us. To give *Ceſar* his Sovereign, and all the Princes of *Germany* the lie, although it were very inſufferable, yet it may ſeem but a perſonal, or particular contempt; but to proclaim them all *Savages*, *Fools*, *Knaves*, *Tyrants*, and to ſay that the *Turk* was a wiſer and honeſter man then any of them, in whoſe Government, as all the World knows, the Sacred Law of Chriſt our Saviour is wholly abrogated, and the blaſphemous Dreams of a wretched Impoſtor ſet up, and maintained by force in ſtead thereof, and the Moral Law of God publikely and daily, by a contrary law of *Mahomet*, in many reſpects violated and broken, (to the great diſhonor of God, indeed, and ſhame of Chriſtendom,) is a Language ſo abſurdly ſeditious and ſcandalous, as it can never be ſufficiently deteſted. Then to give out to the world, and publiſh

lish in Print, as it were in open scorn and contempt of all authority, That a wise and good Prince was as rarely found, as a black Swan; that commonly Kings and Princes be the most doting Fools, or wickedst Knaves in the World, and that they are such a Reprobate crew, as there is scarce a place in Heaven for them; what is it, but by such epithets and execrable boldness, to bring Majesty it self, and all Governments into contempt, to take the Crown from Princes Heads, and to expose Magistracy, and the just preheminencies thereof (without which no Government could long subsist) to the malice, contempt, yea, fury too, of the meanest of the people.

Bnt you will say, perhaps, he used his own Princes with more respect; and all this was said to Catholike, that is, Popish Princes, and his Enemies. Well, admit it were so, that they were Popish Princes, yet were they Magistrates notwithstanding, and at least in as

10. Something to be added here from *Page* 87. of the Book.

good capacity as *Nero*, and those
Rom. 13. others, to whom St. *Paul* commands *every soul* to pay obedience and honor; yet were they the Lieutenants of God upon earth, they had the Image (that is, the Authority) of God upon them; and for that Image sake, were to be used with due reverence. They had the Laws, the Customs, the Constitutions of the Empire on their side; they were not his Enemies, further then his irregularities and offences, together with their own duty, obliged them to be so. Neither is it true, that he used his own Princes of the House of *Saxony* much better. Surely, as for *Duke George* of *Leipsig*, his bitterness and incivility towards him was notorious, calling him, *The Apostle of Satan, Enemy of the Gospel, Murtherer, Tyrant*, and what not? *Surius* Anno 1533. Last of all styling him with a most scurrilous kinde of contempt, *Illustrissima inclementia vestra: Your most Illustrious Surlinesse.* And as for the Prince *Elector* himself, his Grand Patron and Protector, old *John Frederick*

Frederick, Duke of *Saxony*, it was not possible he should scape without some dirt in his face, as well as the rest. For whereas the Duke had granted Commission to certain persons, *viz.* unto *John Plaumitz*, a Nobleman, *Jerome Schurffius*, a Lawyer, *Philip Melanchthon*, *Hawbitz*, and others, to make a visitation of *Saxony* (which themselves had filled with disorders) *Luther* was much offended at this, and therefore when they returned their Commission, and made report of things, he took occasion to shew his scorn and contempt of their proceedings arrogantly enough: *Trotz*, quoth he, *A fig for these visitors, they have done nothing*; and all this, because himself was left out of the Commission: That was it which vext his ambitious soul, so as he could not hold, but must discover himself in his very Sermons. *Nescio quâ de causâ: I cannot tell*, saith he, *why the Prince should neglect me in this business*. But because he was neglected, see how he takes it, and

Serm. in Dominicâ *Intravit.*

and what respect he professeth to the Orders agreed upon in that Visitation. *Si licet mihi decretales Papæ?* Is it lawful for me, saith he, *for Christian liberties sake, not onely to neglect, but to contemn and trample under my feet the Popes Decrees, the Canons of Councels, the Laws and Mandates of the Emperor himself, and of all Princes*; Vestrasne res gestas, &c. *And think you*, saith he, *I shall value your Orders so much, as to take them for Laws?* No, I warrant you; himself must, and will be judge always, what is fit to be Law: Neither the Duke, nor his Commissioners, must prescribe rules to him, further then his own humor pleaseth. And therefore, whereas the Duke had once presumed to forbid him writing any thing against the Archbishop of *Mentz*, (because he being so great a Prelate, and a Prince Elector of the Empire, it might occasion some publike disturbance,) speaking of this to *Spalatinus*, a famous *Lutheran*, and great friend of his; What saith he? *Non feram, quod*

Lib. cont. Ambros. Catharin.

Loc. Com. Class. 4. cap. 30.

quod ais, non paſſurum principem, &c. I cannot endure, ſaith *Luther, that you ſhould ſay, The Prince will not ſuffer me to write againſt him of* Mentz, *nor that the publike Peace ſhould be broken; rather then this ſhall be, I will looſe both thee, and the Prince too;* (if I tranſlate him well.) *Si enim Creatori ejus Papæ, &c. For,* ſaith he, ſeeing I have reſiſted his Maker, the Pope, *I will not ſurely ſubmit now to his Creature. No,* Spalatinus, *no, that ſhall never be.*

Potius te & principem ipſum perdam.

And thus much of *Luthers* perſonal doctrine and ſpirit, by which you may ſufficiently judge of the man, and perceive, how contrary they were, both of them (perſon and doctrine) unto the Peace and Eſtabliſhed Government of the Empire. We are next to ſee what Tragedy followed this Prologue, and what effect ſuch principles of Sedition as theſe had upon the people; which indeed was very anſwerable to them. For when as this Wilde Boar in the Church of God (as he may be juſtly termed) had broken

down the Pale of Order and Discipline, and the common people by his means had received such a pleasant new Gospel, as taught them, That they were exempted (now) from all Canons and Injunctions of the Church (made to restrain licentiousness and disorder;) That true Christians were freed from the Captivity of *Babylon*, that is, from all such Constitutions and Ceremonies, as they found burthensom, or less pleasing to themselves; That there was a more compendious way to Heaven lately found out, then had been formerly thought upon, that is to say, By Faith onely, with freedom from merits, and all the burthen of good works; That *Rome* was *Babylon*; That Bishops had seduced them for a long time together; That Religious men were Idolaters, and all Princes that favored or protected them, Tyrants; That the Will of God was not to suffer the poor Commonalty any longer to bear so heavy a yoke and subjection under such oppressors;

oppreſſors; when, I ſay, the common people had well drunk in, and were become mad with theſe intoxicating doctrines of Sedition and Liberty, no long time paſseth, but they riſe in Arms, make Inſurrections, and commit Outrages and Ryots all the Countries over: Each man was a drum and firebrand to his Neighbor, every one gave alarm to other, to riſe and root out ſo corrupt a Clergy, and depoſe ſuch unworthy Princes. Firſt of all, the Boors and Peaſants in *Germany* run together and make havock of all things in *Swevia*, *Franconia*, *Alſatia*, and in many of the Imperial Towns alſo: They in *Franconia* profeſs they take Arms to expel the Nobility out of *Germany*, and to cut down thoſe Oaks of the Church, which ſtood in their way, *viz.* The Biſhops, Archbiſhops, and other Prelates, to aboliſh the old Laws, and to eſtabliſh others new in their ſtead. The heads of theſe tumults, and, as it were, Tribunes of the people, were

cheifly

cheifly *Thomas Muncer*, and *Pbifer* his Comrade, with one *Chriſtopher Schæplerus*. *Muncer* was a moſt audacious fellow, and, as ſome report, of a Prieſt, was become an Apoſtate: He had been formerly Scholler to *Carolſtad*; yet *Melanchon* confeſſeth, That he came alſo to *Luthers* Lectures; which is not improbable, ſeeing he acted ſome of his doctrines ſo much to the life. In *Alſatia* he firſt began to Preach againſt the Pope, yet diſſented in many things from his Maſters doctrine; becauſe, as the Popes Laws were too ſevere, ſo *Luthers* (even in his opinion) gave too much liberty. There he alſo firſt preached againſt Maſs, and againſt the Baptizing of Infants, becauſe it was not expreſly commanded in the Scriptures. There he taught, That Chriſt did not take fleſh of the Virgin *Mary*; and that Magiſtrates did forfeit or looſe all Authority, ſo often as they committed Mortal ſin; and laſtly, That the people (that is, ſuch a rabble of the people as

Melanth. in Hiſt. Ana.

Cent. 15. p. 445.

as followed him tumultuously, and without any lawful order) might correct Princes when they offend. This fellow, to make his name and practices more reverenced by the people, pretended, as others did, extraordinary vocation from God; That what he did was by revelation and warrant of the Holy Ghost; that he had received from God the Sword of *Gideon*, *cogere universum orbem*, as the *Centuriſts* write of him, thereby *to compel the whole World, to acknowledge and ſet up the new Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt*; to fight for *Iſrael*, and to depoſe Idolatrous Magiſtrates: And with ſuch phantaſtical pretences as theſe, he made ſhift to draw into the Field infinite numbers of people of *Franconia*, by whoſe help he won by force the ſtrong Town of *Winſpurgh*, ſlew the Count *Lodowick* of *Helphenſtein*; and either killed, or captivated all the Noblemen of the Country, whom they could encounter. Beſides, they ſacked and deſtroyed all Churches, Monaſteries, and Religious

ous places, where they came; Insomuch, as *Conradus Wimpin*, and other Authors affirm, That in this onely Circle of the Empire, they pillaged and spoiled neer upon Three hundred Monasteries, Castles, and Forts; and yet these wretched people could pretend, they took arms *for edification*. Is it not likely they did so? At last for want of Victuals, and other necessaries (as multitude and fury are seldom provident) they were forced to divide their Camps; so some of them marched towards the Dutchy of *Wirtembergh*, where by *Truchses*, General of the League of *Swevia*, they were all put to the Sword, or flight; yet very great numbers of them remained still in *Franconia*. Whereupon, because their tumults and proceedings tended so manifestly to the destruction of all State, Laws, and Government whatsoever, at last *John Frederick*, Duke of *Saxony*, (who had before connived at *Muncers* Preaching in *Alstadt*) his Uncle Duke *George* of *Leipsig*,

Surius Chron.

Leipsig, together with the other Princes, (the Emperor himself being then in *Spain*) joyned their forces, and at *Franckhuisen* made a bloody slaughter and execution of those Peasants in their Camp; where *Muncer* and *Phifer*, both, were taken prisoners and executed, and above a hundred thousand men lost their lives in these Tumules and Rebellion.

Yet could not such a fearful warning as this absolutely quiet their spirits: For in *Alsatia* they made new uproars, and above Twenty thousand of them were slain by the Count *Palatine*, and *Anthony*, Duke of *Lorrain*. After this an other multitude of them put themselves in Arms at *Petersheim*, in the Territory of *Worms*, but were likewise defeated and put to the Sword. To conclude, no part of the Empire was perfectly cleer from this plague of Conspiracy: For as the Boors in the Country, so in the Imperial Towns the common people would needs 12.

be

be reforming of Religion, and removing of such Magistrates, as did any way support the old. At *Erford* they degraded and committed all the Officers of the Town; at *Franckford* with more fury they spoiled the Churches, banished the Clergy, and put all the Authority and Government of the City into the hands of Twenty four Commoners; they created all inferior Magistrates new, made new Laws, expelled the old Senators, the whole Clergy, not without much threatning and terror; they selected and set forth Forty and seven Articles out of *Luthers* new doctrine, which they decreed should be observed religiously, and professed by all men; they sent them also to their Brethren at *Colen*, and *Mentz*, who had attempted the like pranks there, standing in Arms, and being Masters of the several Cities for some days together; but in the end failed. In the Territory of the Bishop of *Triers*, one *Francis Sicking*, a private *Lutheran*, yet out of his

Surius in Chron.

his zeal, and to comply, as some say, with the instigations of *Bucer*, and others, feared not to take up Arms, and to invade in hostile maner the Country of that Bishop; took by assault a strong place of the Princes own possession; marched with his Army up to the very Walls of *Triers*, with intention to besiedge it: But as his cause was wicked, and undertaken without any just ground of War, so the success was answerable; his forces being suddenly compelled to retire, himself with many of his complices apprehended and attainted, and their Lands confiscate. Briefly, and to give you the sum of all these mischeifs under one view, This Inundation, and, as it were, First fury of these Reformers of *Germany*, was so general and violent, that all Church-Goods whatsoever, where they came, became prey and booty to them; Cathedral Churches were broken down, and shamefully defaced; Monasteries ransacked and robbed; Bishops and Bishopricks spoiled,

ſpoiled; as *Magdeburgh* for example, the Seat of the Primate of *Germany*, and a Prince of the Empire; *Breme*, *Lubeck*, and no leſs then fourteen more beſide: So as the Imperial Chamber at *Spires* was for a long time after much diſquieted, and troubled with Actions, Petitions, and Complaints, about thoſe ſpoils; the Emperor himſelf marvellouſly perplexed, how to procure a Ceſſation of theſe diſorders, and to ſtop the Torrent of theſe Reformers: Neither could he do it effectually till many years after, *viz. Anno* 1544. when by an Edict he appointed Commiſſioners particularly to enquire *in bona Eccleſiæ invaſa*, after all Church-Goods purloyned. Till that time, himſelf had his hands full, and at ſome time more then enough to do, to make reſiſtance againſt their fury, and to pacifie the troubles, which continually grew upon him from theſe beginnings, as will hereafter more clearly appear. All which things are reported and teſtified to the

the World by *Jo. Cochlæus*, an Author beyond all exception, whose writings, out of which, most of this hath been taken, were published in *Luthers* life time, and never yet challenged by any man of false play. They are reported also generally by *Pontanus*, *Hortensius*, *Surius*, *Mountford*, *Florim. Ræmundus*; yea, by *Sleydan* himself, and others. And for my self, I can but protest to have used all sincerity in citing the evidence, which I had from so many worthy Witnesses: And that I do, as the *Romans* were wont to say in such cases, *Ita me Jupiter, si sciens fallo*; Let me not live, if I forge any thing, which I know to be otherwise.

Jo. Cochlæi Acta & Scripta *Lutheri.*

Flor. Ræmundus de ortu & Progress. Heresium.

But it will be replied perhaps by some, that I do *Luther* wrong, to charge him with these Tumults, and the Insurrections of the *Anabaptists*; seeing that he vehemently reproved their proceedings, gave them no encouragement at all, ever disliked those wilde phantasies of *Muncer*, and his followers, ever Preached 13.

Preached in defence of Magistrates and Civil Government: Thus pleadeth Doctor *Bilson*, and some others in his behalf; but their labor is like the washing of a Blackamoor, all they can do will not make him white: For let the World judge by what hath been said already, whether such Positions and Exhortations, as we have instanced in out of his own writings, vehemently delivered by him, and as greedily swallowed by the people, could be any thing else, but fire to this fewel. Let his Bull against the Clergy, his Invectives against all Ecclesiastical Persons and Orders, be well considered, and they will plainly appear to tend to nothing else. For what man is so senseless, that would not be moved to contemn Authority, and endeavor by all means to enfranchise himself, when he shall hear Preached by an *Elias*, a man whom he suppoſeth to be sent extraordinarily from God, to teach and reform the World, That Princes were

were Tyrants, Bishops blinde and false guides, Religious men Idolaters; and all the Powers of the World generally such, as by their corruptions and wickedness had forfeited their Authority; and that Christians had, and ought to enjoy, such a Charter of Liberty, as did exempt them in Conscience from all Humane Laws and Constitutions? I say, what man of sense can imagine, but the people fully perswaded of such maxims as these, from the mouth of such a Preacher, should not be always ready, and in a posture to rebel upon any occasion offered? And that *Luther* had taught them this, and much more in substance, is manifest, as I said, by what hath been alledged before; yet, as to that last particular, *Of exemption in point of Conscience from Humane Laws*, it may require a word or two more.

Not to insist therefore any further upon that which *Cochlæus* alledgeth out of his First Book, *Exhort. ad Pacem*, in these words, *In sæculari regimine* 14. *Cochlæ.* in Miscel.

regimine nihil amplius facitis: *You Princes of the World*, ſaith he, *what do you elſe, but fleece and pillage your poor Subjects to their very skin, to maintain your pride, till they can bear no longer?* Nor upon that which follows, *Non ſunt Ruſtici*; *They are not the Boors, but God Almighty himſelf, which is coming againſt them for their Tyranny*: Theſe ſhall paſs as peices of his accuſtomed Malapertneſs with them, or, if it be poſſible, with ſome tolerable interpretation. But certainly that which follows, admits none. In his Book, *De captiv. Babylon. Ab omnibus hominum legibus, &c. We are*, ſaith he, *freed from all Laws of men whatſoever, by vertue of that Chriſtian Liberty, which is given us in Baptiſm.* And in the ſame Book, *Scio nullam rempublicam, &c. I know*, ſaith he, *very well, there is never a Commonwealth in the World well governed by theſe Laws of men*: And therefore concludes it to be, *In pe & iniquiter ſervile*; *A ſhameful thing, and a ſlavery unworthy of a Chriſtian man*

Cap. de Baptiſm.

Cap. de Matrim.

Cap. de Sac. Ord.

who

who is free, to be subject to any Laws, but the Laws of God, and of Heaven. I know some men endeavor to put Interpretations even upon these Passages, to make them seem less scandalous. Doctor *Whitacre* in particular telleth us, That *Luther* meant not, that men are so exempt from Humane Laws, as that every one might do what he list; but that the Conscience of a Believer was free from all Humane Laws, *in respect of Religion.* As if to *obey Magistrates,* in obedience to the Will and Ordinance of God, as Magistracy is plainly, *Rom.* 13. and as we ought to do in all the obedience we give to them, 1 *Pet.* 2. 13. were not *matter and duty of Religion*; As to do it for Publike peace sake, and in regard of that Authority which they have by consent of men; and for our good, is an act of Morality or Civil Justice, due unto them upon the account of Natural Right and Humane Reason, abstracting from the Law of God: or, as if, out of the case of scandal,

Respons. ad rat. 8. *Campian.*

ſcandal, peril, or ſome other ſuch extrinſecal conſiderations, a man might neglect, or not obſerve, the juſt Laws of men, at his pleaſure, without offence againſt God; or laſtly, as if to reſiſt lawful Magiſtracy out of a mans private Authority, Paſſion, or Spleen, were not a thing contrary to Religion. But let *Luther* interpret himſelf, *Dico itaque, neque Papa, neque Epiſcopus, &c.* *I ſay therefore*, ſaith he, as Sir *Thomas Moor* cites him in his Latin work abovementioned, *That neither the Pope, nor Biſhops, nor any mortal man whatſoever, hath authority to lay the leaſt ſyllable of command upon a Chriſtian, unleſs it be by his own conſent.*

Luth. 1566.

15. Nor do we inſiſt ſo much here, what ſtudied or ſtrange ſenſe may poſſibly, perhaps, be put upon his words; but how they ſound outwardly, and how they are apt to be underſtood by common people, who do not uſually ſtand much pondering about words, but take them as they ſound; eſpecially when

when they found Liberty, or any thing agreeable to their corrupt Passions and Humors, as these do. And that we may see his design did drive directly against the Laws themselves, and not onely against such impertinent and imaginary niceties, which men might raise about the observing of them, in his Book *Ad Nobilitat. Gorman.* he absolutely vilifies the Law it self, so far as to prefer the *Turks Alcoran* before it. *Men say,* saith he, *there is no better Government in the World, then with the* Turk, *and yet he hath neither Canon nor Civil Law, onely his Alcoran: But with us it is plain, there can be no worse Government found, then that which we have by the Canon and Civil Law:* What did he mean, think we? What rule did he leave the people to be guided by, but their own Humors and Passions, who before had traduced the Princes themselves for Tyrants, for Oppressors; and now debaseth the Law (that is, the onely rule by which the Princes pretended to

govern) even beneath the *Alcoran* it

Hospin. Hist. Sacram. self? Adde hereunto, that his own friends, and such as follow him in most things, do for this very reason charge him directly, *To have been no small cause of the Wars in* Germany; yea, his own *Osiander* testifieth,

Centur. 16. p. 16. That the Boors, who made such havock for a while in *Germany* by their conspiracies, and especially against the Clergy, did not onely pretend *the Gospel*, and *the Liberty of the Gospel* for their doings, but did even appeal therein to *Luther* himself: *Ad* Lutheri *judicium provocaverant*; *They appealed*, saith he, *to* Luthers *judgement*: Not to urge

Hyperaspist. adverss. Lutherum. what *Erasmus* hath to this effect, nor what *Menno Simonius*, an Anabaptist, acknowledgeth in his Book *De cruce Christi*, *Quam sanguinolentas seditiones* Lutherani, *&c. What bloody Riots and Murthers the* Lutherans *have committed, for some years past, to maintain their Doctrine?* And as to that part of the Objection, that *Luther* did reprove, yea, write against the Boors, it is the poorest

fallacy

fallacy of all: He did it, but how? With ſuch calumniating and taxing of the Princes themſelves, as they could be little ſecured by his writing, and the Boors as little diſcouraged. He did it, but when? When it was too late; when he could forbear no longer; when he found himſelf generally cenſured, and murmured at by the Nobility, and better ſort of people, as an occaſion at leaſt, if not an Inſtrument and Fautor of thoſe miſcheifs. Laſtly, He did it, but when? When he ſaw the Boors go down, that they were not likely to maintain their quarrel, nor to go through with their work; then indeed he left them in the Bryers (wiſely enough) though they appealed to him, though they uſed, yea, alledged his own Homilies and Sermons, for what they did, though they were all for Reformation, all for Liberty, all againſt the Church of *Rome*, and againſt Biſhops, yea, and that their very word in the Field was *Vivat Evangelium*; *Let the Goſpel flouriſh.*

16. Hitherto we have discourſed chiefly of *Luthers* doctrinal extravagancies, and touched upon the evil practiſes, or fruits thereof, onely in ſuch men, as either for the privateneſs and meanneſs of their condition (being all of them Boors, Peaſants, and rude Country people) or for the unſucceſsfulneſs of their deſigns are generally diſclaimed: Such as neither *Luther*, nor any of his followers will readily own. I come now to give a further inſtance of the miſchief, which the doctrine and doings of this man brought upon *Germany*, in a buſineſs which was publikely owned, not by *Luther* onely, but by many of the Princes themſelves; who for the defence of his new Doctrine, and protection of his wretched perſon, bandied themſelves againſt the Emperor, their Sovereign Lord, and againſt the general body of the Empire, of which they were both Members and Subjects, and by the Publike Laws, whereof themſelves in that relation ought to have been

been governed. The beginning, proceedings, and iſſue of which confederacy was briefly thus.

Old *John Frederick* Elector, and Duke of *Saxony*, the *Landſgrave* of *Heſſen*, with ſome others, already caught with the Liberty, and other advantages which they made of *Luthers* new doctrine, (beſides an old and inveterate emulation in moſt of them againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which then was, and ſtill is Imperial) firſt enter a League at *Smalcald*, which is a Town of *Heſſia* upon the Frontiers of *Saxony*, onely (as they pretended) for their own defence, and to maintain their Religion and Liberties againſt ſuch men as would invade or perſecute them. We muſt obſerve here firſt, That the Religion ſpoken of, was a Religion but then newly and privately taken up of themſelves, contrary to that which was publikely received and acknowledged in the Empire; and by vertue, or rather pretext whereof, they were obliged to do, and ſuffer to be done many 17.

things, which were expresly contrary to the Constitutions of the Empire; which Constitutions, the Emperor, together with themselves, were by oath solemnly bound to observe, and see observed. In this League were also comprehended, the Duke of *Wittemberg*, and some of the Imperial Towns: They renewed it again at *Franckfort*, and after that again at *Auspurgh*, confirming it with a general and solemn Protestation of what their opinions were in matter of Religion; which Protestation being then exhibited unto the Emperor in their names, the Title, or Sirname of Protestants, became thenceforward appropriate to that party. After this, *viz. Anno* 1536. Suspecting some opposition would be made against them by the Emperor, and other States of *Germany*, for such proceedings, and not willing to be taken at unawares by him, they bring (*viz.* themselves first of all) an huge Army into the Field, commanded by the yong Duke of *Saxony*, *John Frederick* (his Father

Father being dead,) and the *Landsgrave* of *Hessen*, with resolution by force of Arms, to finde or make themselves right, as they called it. The Duke of *Wittemberg*, the Imperial Towns, *Ausburgh*, *Ulm*, *Strasburgh*, and *Franckfort*, sent them aid. The Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine* had levyed Two hundred horse for them, but upon better thoughts revoked them, when they were upon their march. The Duke of *Brunswick* and his sons, the Duke of *Luneburgh*, the yong Marques of *Baden*, the Prince of *Anhalt*, the Counts of *Furstenburgh* and *Mansfield* joyned with them, either in person or power. Their Army consisted of about Seventy thousand fighting men, and among them Seven thousand and seven hundred at least were Horse; they had an hundred and twelve Cannon and Field pieces, with such an infinite quantity of all sorts of Provisions, as gave them an assured hope and confidence of Victory. The eyes of all Princes were upon this action;

Surius in. *Chron.*

and *Germany* it ſelf trembled in expectation of the event and ſucceſs of ſuch an Army prepared, as they ſaw, to ſwallow up the Emperor, (if they could) and to ſubvert the whole Government and Religion of the Empire; I mean that Religion and Government which was then eſtabliſhed, and had ſtood ſo eſtabliſhed many hundred years, before the Fathers or Grand-fathers of any of thoſe Princes, now in Arms to deſtroy it, were born. The Emperor had onely God, and a juſt cauſe on his ſide; for his friends, thoſe I mean, who openly and avowedly appeared for him, were few; *viz.* The King of the *Romans*, his Brother, the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the Duke of *Cleve*: For though Duke *Maurice* of *Saxony* followed him, yet in regard of his affinity with the *Landſgrave*, whoſe Son in law he was; as alſo for his Religion, being a *Lutheran*, he could not but be ſuſpected. However, it pleaſed God, notwithſtanding this huge Army of the Princes, that the Emperor

Emperor became Master of the Field, with a most compleat and signal Victory; yea, (which was an accident more rare) the two Generals (*Saxony* and *Hessen*, both of them) became prisoners, and their whole Army was defeated. The yong Duke of *Saxony* (a person much honored and pitied) had his life given him, with some connivence for his Religion; yet his impregnable Fort at *Gotha* was demolished, and the Electorate with all the Lands thereunto belonging, were bestowed by the Emperor upon Duke *Maurice*. The like mercy for life was shewed the *Landsgrave*, who after some time, obtained his liberty also. The Duke of *Wittemberg* for Two hundred thousand Duckats; and the Imperial Towns, partly with Money, and partly upon their humble Petitions and Submission, made their peace at last with the Emperor. And thus, by the good Providence of God, and happy conduct of *Cæsar*, was the Empire preserved *in Statu quo prius*;

the Electors Eccleſiaſtical and other Prelates, continued, and their Dignities maintained; whereas, in all probability, had the Princes prevailed, as they had already by the inſtigation of *Luther*, and ſuch Preachers, ſwallowed the Revenues, extinguiſhed, yea, wholly buried the Title, State, and Authority of Biſhops in their own Provinces, ſo would they have done all the Empire over.

18. Now as Greatneſs and Innovation ſeldom want Patrons, nor wis to colour their faults, ſo it muſt be confeſſed, there are ſome, who endeavor to excuſe *Luther* and *Lutheraniſm* of the odiouſneſs of this Action, yea, and the Action it ſelf from the imputation of Rebellion.

Differences of Chriſtian Subjects, &c. Firſt of all Doctor *Bilſon* affirmeth, That the Lawyers of *Germany* do in ſome caſes permit reſiſtance to be made againſt *Cæſar*; but he names not one: Then he ſaith, The States of *Germany* are not abſolutely ſubject to the Emperor, but onely upon ſome conditions.

Secondly,

Secondly, the Divines of *Magdeburgh* plead, That if the Magistrate pass the bounds of his Authority, and command things wicked and unlawful, he may well be resisted, and must not be obeyed. Thirdly, *Sleydan* saith, We may resist *Cæsar* with good Conscience, when he intends the destruction of Religion and Liberty. Lastly, *Philip Melanthon* with great confidence gives Authority to the Inferior Magistrate, to alter Religion and overthrow Idolatry. So they all conclude the War lawful both by Gods Law and Mans: And this indeed is the substance of the Reasons, alledged by the Duke, and the *Landsgrave*, both when the League was first made at *Smalcald*, and when they first proclaimed War against the Emperor.

Centur. 16.

Lib. 19. fol. 263.

Consil. Evangel. Part. 1. p. 314.

19. But, as it is easie to perceive, these Doctors Assertions do all of them suppose certain things, which ought first to be proved; as for example, 1. That *Cæsar* passed the bounds of his Authority; for if he did not, it

it is clear, they passed theirs. 2. That he commanded things wicked and unlawful. 3. That he went about to destroy true Religion, and their Liberty: All these must be proved, before it be lawful to take Arms, and resist him, by their own confession. I demand therefore of them this Question, When *Cæsar* or the Supream Magistrate commandeth any thing to be done, which is not apparently contrary to the Laws of the Empire then in force, who shall be Censor, who shall Judge, whether *Cæsar* passeth the bounds of his Authority? and whether the things which he commandeth be impious, or no? They answer, he absolutely sought to destroy their Religion and Liberties: But I reply, it hath been an old and usual stratagem of Satan, to oppose Religion against Religion, thereby to bring in *Atheism*, and leave us no Religion. Beside, making *Lutheranism* to be the onely true Religion, and their Liberties to consist in the free profession of that, they take that for granted

granted which *Cæsar* both at *Worms* and *Auſpurgh* made the greateſt Queſtion. So they argue not well, becauſe they do not proceed *ex conceſſis*; yea, it is manifeſt, that when they did preſume to ſet up a new Religion, they paſſed themſelves the bounds of their Authority; and the World might judge *Cæsar* a very ſimple Prince, if he ſhould either change his own Religion, or tolerate theirs upon the bare credit of *Luthers* private opinion and ſpirit, or upon the bare Proteſtation of the Confederates. For were they competent Judges againſt the whole World? or can Religion be lawfully and orderly changed by Civil Magiſtrates onely? and when neither a General Councel, nor National Councel hath decreed it, nor any Imperial Dyet eſtabliſhed it? may every Elector or Prince frame a new Religion for his own Province by Law, without conſent of the Emperor and States? Give me an Inſtance, ſhew me a Preſident, when any ſuch Innovation was ever made

made in the Empire, without an Imperial Dyet. Shew me a Law, or some colour of Law, by which it might be done, or else confess, That the Princes taking up Arms against the Emperor was without Justice, and their quarrel without lawful ground. Beside, was it lawful for the Confederates to coyn a new Religion, and maintain it by Arms, and was it not more lawful for the Emperor to defend the old, which was already received, and to reform them? The Boors took Arms upon the self-same pretences, *viz.* For Religion and Liberty; yet the Princes with their own forces, and with no less Justice and Honor, subdued them. Why might not therefore *Cæsar* compel the Confederates unto the same terms, as they did the Boors, *viz.* To exercise that Religion which was established, at least with *à quousque*, until a legal Reformation could be had, and to obey the Laws in force, and to keep the Peace of the Commonwealth? Doth the degree or dignity of the persons

persons make the cause so different? I trow not. And for any designs of *Cæsar* upon them, under colour of Religion, it cannot be made good: They were first in the Field; the Emperor had not any forces ready a long time after; yea, they pursued him with their Army, and compelled him to fortifie himself: So that if mens Councels may be guessed at by their actings, it is clear, they had rather designs upon him: And his favorable dealings with all of them after the Victory, do more then refute such a calumny. But, saith Dr. *Bilson*, The Emperor is not absolutely to be obeyed by the States: It is no matter. He is to be obeyed in seeing the Laws and Constitutions of the Empire observed, and that is enough to justifie his proceedings in the case. How far he is absolute, and how far the Princes do ow fealty and homage to him, and obedience to the Publike Constitutions of the Empire, their several Oaths taken at the Coronation of the one, and Investitures

P. Avila, de bello Germanico

Investitures or Instalments of the other, do best shew.

20. But I will leave skirmishing and come to the main point. It is most certain, That *Cæsar* did observe the Law; and that the Confederate Princes did violate both the Laws and Liberties of *Germany*. For what Prince soever stands *Rectus in Curiâ*, having the ancient and known Laws of the Kingdom on his side, must always be judged to hold a better plea then Subjects, who arm themselves against him illegally, disorderly, and by authority of their own private opinions onely. At that time *Cæsar* was bound by Law to extirpate *Lutheranism*, and to maintain the Popes authority in *Germany*, as it was acknowledged in the other parts of Christendom, he was bound to maintain Catholike Religion, and the Immunities or Rights of the Church; so manifestly, that even their own *Goldastus* doth acknowledge it to be the Emperors Oath so to do; which is not a new Oath neither:

neither: For the same in effect was taken long since by *Carolus* 4. *Otho* 1. and 3. and by *Carolus Magnus*, which is a prescription every way good and indisputable. The like profession also we finde made by those ancient and religious Emperors, *Theodosius*, *Gratian*, *Valentinian*, *Justinian*, and others, both in the *Code* and *Novel Constitutions*. How therefore could the Emperor, either maintain or suffer any other Religion in the Empire, then that which he found already established, and allowed by all his Predecessors, declared by so many Councels, continued so many Generations, ratified by all the Imperial Dyets, and lastly, by his own Oath? Beside, did the Duke of *Saxony*, or the *Landsgrave*, when they were prisoners, ever plead the Law on their side? did they ever use any such argument, any such excuse? No; they submitted absolutely, and craved pardon for their lives, from his hands to whom they were forfeited; and how ridiculous also had

had the plea been? For shall the Duke of *Saxony* take arms for the defence of *Lutheranism*, and may not the Count *Palatine* of *Rhine* do the same in defence of *Calvinism*, which yet the *Lutherans* will not endure? or an *Halberstat* for *Epicurism?* or a *Muncer* with his Boors for *Anabaptism?* and so by *Anarchy*, under pretence of Conscience and Liberties, rend in peices the Empire, and open the Ports of *Germany* to the *Turk*. But to stop the mouth of Learned Ignorance, I will discover more particularly, and lay down the foundation of this great quarrel betwixt *Cæsar* and the Confederate Princes, and the legal order and method of proceeding, which the Emperor constantly observed therein.

21. In the year 1521. The Emperor conferred personally with *Luther* at *Worms*, and out of his special Grace and Benignity, further required the Archbishop of *Triers*, and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, to treat with him, and perswade him to Conformity;

Conformity; but perceiving him obſtinate, and reſolved not to ſubmit himſelf to any due Authority, and finding that all his Courſe, Books, Sermons tended to nothing but Sedition, and making further diviſions among the people; at laſt he made a Decree, with the general conſent of the States, not to put him to death, ſuch was his mercy, but to baniſh him the Empire, wherein was ſhewn, as appeared afterward by the event, much more lenity then juſt providence. In which Decree, after the Cauſes and Reaſons of ſuch proceedings at large declared and ſet down, he concludeth thus. *Mandantes de eorundem Statuum conſenſu, ſub crimine læſæ Majeſtatis, &c. Commanding by and with conſent of the ſaid States, under pain of High Treaſon, and forfeiture of whatſoever, Lands, Principalities, Goods or Priviledges holding of us, and of the Sacred* Roman *Empire; as alſo of Proſcription, or our Imperial Ban to be* ipſo facto *incurred, &c. That neither you, nor any*

of

any of you do presume to receive, maintain, or harbor the said Martin Luther, *&c. And that ye burn all those his foresaid Heretical and Seditious Books.* And this Edict was directed to all the Electors, Princes, Imperial Towns, and States. Now can you imagine, that the Duke of *Saxony*, or the *Landsgrave*, were exempted from this Edict? or that the Emperor had not as full power to call them to account for their contempt of it, as any inferior persons? or otherwise, that those Princes were the *Ephori* of *Germany*, and might curb the Emperor himself, if they saw cause? Then certainly the Emperor of *Germany* were but a poor shadow of an Emperor, a *Titulus sine re* indeed, a matter of nothing but empty Title, and it were true that which *Bodin* saith, that *Imperium in Imperio quærendum est*; A man might seek for an Emperor all the Empire over, and not finde him: Which yet by his leave, is a gross error. Well! The Duke of *Saxony*, notwithstanding this Edict, would

Jo. Bodin, de Rep.

maintain

maintain and protect *Luther*; as he did at *Alstat* a Town of his own in *Turingia*; which place *Luther* with no small arrogance, or impiety rather, was wont to call his *Pathmos*; and in the mean time changed Religion, and established *Lutheranism* in all his own Dominions; and at *Smalcald*, as we said before, entred a League against the Emperor for maintenance of it.

22. Which actions of the Duke, that you may understand how directly they are against Law and Justice, *Andrew Gail* that famous Lawyer shall tell you, *Receptores bannitorum perinde puniantur, &c. The Receivors*, saith he, *of Outlaws or Banished persons, are lyable to the same punishment*, that such people are; and *Domini Prædiorum, The Lords*, saith he, *of those places where they lurk, are bound to deliver them up*; *viz.* To Justice. And again, *Qui bannito commeatum & annonam suppeditat, He that supplieth an Outlaw with provision or victuals, is ordinarily judged as a receivor.* *Brunus* shall also tell you,

Gailius de Pace public. c. 10. sect. 36.

Adverf. Hereſ. lib. 1. c. 4.

you, That in *excommunicatis, qui bannitis*; *That the very entertainment of excommunicate and outlawed persons, is criminal and lyable to punishment.* If you suppose, that these Laws respected onely inferior receivors, and that the Duke was free, hear what *Gail* saith again.

Lib. 1. c. 1. sect. 9. *Conditio Pacis publicæ, &c. An Edict for the publike Peace, obligeth all persons in the Empire of what state, condition or dignity soever, as well the Princes themselves, as the inferior people; yea,* saith he, *though it were published against some one or more of the Princes.* The Duke therefore not obeying the Law, and knowing that the Emperor had oft written out of *Spain*, that the Edict of *Worms* should be executed, he aggravated his crime fearing the indignation of *Cæsar*; and thereupon took up arms, and entred into the League, as hath been said. And yet notwithstanding after this League entred, such was the lenity of *Cæsar*, that his Ambassador at *Spires*, in the year 1529. offered the

the Confederates moſt equal and moderate terms of accord, *viz.* No more then that *utrinque ab omni injuriâ, &c. That henceforward both parties ſhould abſtain from doing injury to others, and from all offenſive language or reviling each other; and that onely offenders againſt this agreement ſhould be baniſhed.* A man would think this were a reaſonable offer from the Supream Magiſtrate to the Inferiors, obnoxious both to him and the Law: Yet was it rejected by the Confederates. At *Auſpurgh* again in the year 1530. the Emperor moſt graciouſly entertained the Duke, and received a Petition from him, with as much favor and indifferency as could ſtand with his honor: And there again revived his Ambaſſadors motion at *Spires*, that no further Innovations might be made, no more Books publiſhed, but that at leaſt all things might abide in quiet State, till the Seventeenth of *May* enſuing: So much did his Imperial Majeſty yeeld for Peace ſake. And yet

yet the Duke rejected his motion; which so much displeased the Emperor, that he forbore not to tell him, and the rest of the Leaguers, *That if they obeyed not, they should repent it.* And yet again, at *Spires* he labored to have prevailed with them by fair means; but thither the Duke (being grown more jealous and fearful of *Cæsar*) would not come. However by this course, which the Emperor constantly held towards them, you may see, how unwilling he was to disturb the Peace, or to begin the War; and how inexcusable they were, that rejected so often the offers of accommodation.

23. But beside this, if I should relate the malice and contempt they used to him, you might well think they ought not to have expected the least degree of mercy from him, in case they should fall into his hands, as it hapned they did. For in all their publike Letters they vouchsafed him no other Title, then *Charls of Gaunt, usurping the name of Emperor;*

Surius in Chron.

Emperor; whereby they renounced all obedience to him, and ſo far as in them lay, depoſed him: Which was an indignity the meaneſt Prince of them all, would not have accounted ſufferable in his own perſon. I muſt not forget, that the *Landſgrave* did uſually, both by Letters and Meſſages, with no little bravery and confidence aſſure the Princes, and Towns of the League, that within three moneths they would force *Charls* to flie out of *Germany*, and leave the Empire to them. But how then did their pretences hang together? that this League was made onely *ſe defendendo*, and for their Lawful Protection? Surely they aimed at ſome thing more, when they talked of expelling the Emperor out of *Germany*. As they alſo did when they ſolicited the Kings of *France*, *England*, *Denmark*, the *Hans* Towns, and *Swiſſes*, to joyn with them, and diſhonorably abuſed him by many foul and infamous aſperſions. It is true, *France* indeed, (though his

enemy at that time) nobly denied them; *Denmark* lingred, expecting the ſucceſs; neither was King *Hery* forward, though his great Counſellor, and Favorite, *Cromwel*, ſollicited their buſineſs diligently, and was ſo forward, as to promiſe an hundred thouſand Crowns for their aid. At which time Doctor *Thirlby*, Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*, and Sir *Philip Hobby*, were the Kings Ambaſſadors with the Emperor, and by that occaſion witneſſes of the whole Tragedy.

24. And yet a little further, to diſprove their proceedings by Law: Let us remember firſt the Decree at *Worms* above-mentioned, which as *Gail* the Lawyer hath told us, in the caſe of publike Peace, obligeth all perſons alike: Let us remember the Decree of *Maximilian* the Firſt Emperor, about the year 1500. in theſe words, *Conſentientibus Statuum & Ordinum votis, &c.* *By the general conſent of the Princes and States of the Empire, an Edict or Conſtitution was publiſhed neceſſary for*

for publike Peace, called in the Language of the Empire *Landtfrieden. By which Constitution, Proscription* or Banishment *was adjudged to all such as disturbed the publike Peace by force of Arms*; which *Gail* further explains to this sense. *Omnia Bella, &c. All War*, saith he, *made without consent of the Prince, and Commission from him, upon private revenge or quarrel onely, is adjudged unlawful.* And Cap. 5. *In crimen læsæ Majestatis incurrit, &c. He commits high Treason*, saith he, *whosoever within the Empire raiseth Arms, but by the Emperors Authority and Commission; because he usurps to himself, that which is the proper Prerogative Imperial.* Yea, their own *Goldastus* confesseth it to be ancient Law, *Nemo intra Imperii fines, &c. That no man presume to gather Soldiers within the bounds of the Empire, but by consent of the Prince of that respective Circle where he is; and that he give sufficient Caution to the States, that he intends not to attempt any thing against the Emperor, or against any of the*

Gailius de Pace. lib. 1. c. 14.

Lib. 1. tit. 190.

Tom. 2. *States of the Empire.* And in another place he alledgeth a Decree of *Ludovicus Pius*, againſt the King of the *Romans* and his Confederates, as guilty of High Treaſon, for attempting againſt the Emperor. The like alſo of *Henry* the Firſt, againſt *Arnulphus*, Duke of *Baviere*, who rebelled againſt him; and of *Otho* the Firſt, againſt *Ludolphus*, King of the *Romans*; and laſtly, of *Maximilian* the Firſt, againſt *Emicho*, Earl of *Lingen*, whom he proclaimed Traytor, confiſcated his Lands and Eſtate, and gave them to other Princes of the Empire, onely for going to ſerve the *French* King in his Wars, though out of the Empire, contrary to his Proclamation. And as for the Imperial Towns, which confederated with theſe Princes, there is as little to be ſaid for them: For it is a Maxim of Law, recorded by *Gail*, *Ubi ſupra*; that *Civitatum Imperialium ſolus Imperator eſt dominus. That the Emperor onely is Lord of the Imperial Cities, and not their ſeveral Magiſtrates:*

strates: And that they pretended their Liberties in this case against the Emperor, to no purpose.

And for *Luther*, who was the *primum mobile*, and cheif wheel of all these motions; or rather the *malus Genius*, that Fury which agitated the people, and stirred them up to all these disorders, if the Princes and Towns were thus guilty, he could not be innocent. If the Flock did erre, the Shepherd which led them, was to blame. I shall not here charge him again with any small faults, I will not accuse him of belying *Cæsar* most impudently, when he wrote to his friend thus: *Wormatiam ingressus sum. I entred* Worms, saith he, *at a time, when I knew that* Cæsar *would not keep Faith with me.* Nor of his traducing or vilifying that most Fundamental Constitution of the Empire in *Aureâ Bullâ*, making it one of the cheif miracles which Antichrist was to work, *viz.* The translating of the Empire from the *Greeks* to the *French*, in the person of *Carolus* 25. In Epist.

Trithem. Epitom. lib. 6. p. 204.

Magnus, which was done by Pope *Leo* the Third: Nor of his usurping upon the Emperor and Temporal Government, in those pretended Laws of his which he published, concerning the Publike Exchequer; and how he would have Church-Lands and Abby-Lands to be disposed, when he and the Princes should be Masters of all. It shall be enough, that I say, He first counselled the Princes to take Arms, and oppose *Cæsar* in his quarrel; and this *Sleydan* himself acknowledgeth. And that all his Preaching, and all his endeavors were to overthrow the Ecclesiastical Electors, whose Dignities and Estates being established by the *Aurea Bulla*, it was Treason, or Sedition in the highest degree so to do. The three Ecclesiastical Electors, are three Chancelors of the Empire, and in respect of their Regalities, immediately subject to the Emperor; so as there lieth no appeal from them to the Pope, but to the Emperor, and Chamber at *Spires*. *Luther* therefore

fore contriving their ruine, attempted treacherously to pull the fairest Flowers out of the Imperial Crown. Neither could he effect the suppression of them, but he must undermine and endanger the State of the Temporal Electors also; who, as links of the same chain, must necessarily have fain to the ground upon the dissolution of the other; for they had no other ground, nor could plead any other Charter for their Dignities and Immunities, then the Ecclesiasticks did.

Therefore, to draw towards a conclusion, concerning *Luther* and his practises, I shall adde one instance more of intolerable iniquity and arrogance, which *Cochleus* relates, either of *Luther* (as is most probable, for the Author appeared masked, and was *Anonymus*) or at least of some *Lutheran*, published upon these differences betwixt *Cæsar* and the Princes. *Atque ut ora eis obturem*; *And that I may stop their mouths for ever*, saith he, *they are to* 26.

Cochlæ. in Miscel.

know, speaking of the Pope, Emperor, and other Princes Catholike, *That they are but Elective all of them, and that they may be deposed for their misgovernment, as hath been oftentimes done.* This is very modest, in comparison of what follows; for having unto this Propositon added an Assumption, as full of calumnies and slanders, he concludes very Logically against *Cæsar* thus: *Hunc ego exactorem*; *Such an Oppressor and Tyrant, as this, such a* Moabite, *such a* Phalaris, *such a* Nero *to drive him out of the Country, to pull him out of his Throne, cannot but be a thing most acceptable to God.* How justly therefore may that sage Counsel of *Mecænas* given to *Augustus*, be applied unto him, and those of his Gang; as the Historian relates it. *Eos, qui in divinis aliquid innovant, odio habe & coerce.* *They that introduce Innovations in the matters of Religion, detest*, saith he, *and be sure to restrain, not onely for the sake of the gods (whose honor yet whosoever neglecteth, doth seldom advance himself*

Dio Cass. lib. hist. 52.

self much) but also for thy own: For such persons by bringing in of new opinions, and new customs concerning the gods, do very much disquiet the people, and make them desire change in the Affairs of State: Whence proceed Seditions, Conspiracies, Factions, and Tumults among them; all which, are things prejudicial to the Dignity of a Prince, and should be avoided. How true this is, *Germany* and these other parts of Christendom have been a sad example, for these hundred of years. And how justly it might be done, *Luther* himself will tell you as clearly as any man, if you consult him, when he is himself: For though he were a mad Doctor, yet he had his *lucida intervalla*, and could now and then discern Reason, especially when he declaimed against Sacramentaries and Anabaptists; for then the Magistrate must do his office, and no man must complain. *Neque is Sectarius, in quem animadvertitur per Magistratum, cogitur ad fidem.* For, saith he, *such a Sectary as is punished by the*

Enarrat. in Psalm 82. Tom. 3. f. 488. Wittemb.

Civil Magistrate, is not compelled to the Faith, as they commonly pretend; but his impious and unsound Doctrine is suppressed, his blasphemous mouth stopped, and the danger of corrupting of better Christians, prevented. And therefore, *Eat aliàs*; *Let him go,* saith he, *whether he will, let him go exercise his gifts among the* Turks *and* Pagans, *rather then abide here to corrupt Christians.* And again, *Nam ut sæpe dixi: For as I have often told you,* saith he, *they that will live in any City, are bound to observe the Laws of the place; nor are they to be endured, who shall presume to do or speak any thing contrary thereunto: Yea, they may be stoned, as blasphemers were by the Law of* Moses, *and condemned, even without tryal: And if such a course had been taken with* Muncer, Carolstad, *and the rest of that Rabble, in the beginning, when they first began to publish their opinions privately, and without any lawful calling, we had seen much less calamity in* Germany *at this day.* Thus sharply and truly, *Luther* against them.

Indictâ causâ & inauditâ.

them. But how is this evil Servant condemned by his own mouth! For is it lawful, and the duty of the Civil Magistrate to punish and restrain the Preaching of new unsound Doctrines in *Muncer*, *Carolstad*, and the rest of them; and shall it not be permitted to *Cæsar*, to take the like legal course with him, doing the same things? He must needs perish by his own breath, and by the verdict which he gives against his adversaries, he draweth an Indictment against himself; under which we leave him, and pass on, to see what pranks our Masters of the Reformation played, upon the like principles or pretences, in the other parts of Christendom.

Titulus

Titulus Secundus.

CALVINISM:

OR

The Tumults in *France.*

1. I Leave *Germany*, and launch out into an Ocean of as great miseries in *France*, and enquire there, whether *Calvinism* doth any better dispose people to obedience (which is our grand quære) then *Lutheranism* did. The first founder of this Sect was *Huldericus Zuinglius*, whose followers *Luther* always called *Sacramentaries*, but now generally they have their title from *Calvin*; whose transcendency in evil, hath overshadowed the others glory, and is solely reverenced as the Patriarch and Architect of *Genevah*; that framed all her State and

and Diſcipline, and ordered the motions of her ſphere with much art and policy. *Luther* was harſh and ſtern, uſing neither modeſty nor good maners with men: *Calvin* was more cautelous and of a ſubtler ſpirit, appearing at firſt to the World in Humility, and covered with a Foxes skin. *Luther* was the firſt cauſe, but *Calvin* glorieth that he gave perfection to all. Both of them were vain glorious; both bred in the Schools of Law and Contention; both ſpecial friends to the Fleſh and to Pleaſure, and neither of them commended much for Piety or Devotion. For the deſcription of the Life and Converſation of *Calvin*, of his Nature, Behavior, Dyet, and general Epicuriſm, I refer you to one, that ſat long by him to draw his Picture, and hath done it to the life. It is Dr. *Hierome Bolſec*, one that was uſed to feel his pulſe, and knew his humors. A man not hired, nor corrupted to do it; (as ſome have affirmed without any ſhew of proof, onely to weaken

Hier. Bolſec vita Calvin.

weaken his testimony, and maintain the credit of their *Calipha*) and who in the beginning maketh a most serious, yea, Religious Protestation of Truth and Candor in the business. *Francis Baldwin*, a man that lived long with *Calvin*, and knew well what blood ran in all his veins, concurreth with him: So doth *Florimundus de Ræmund*, a *French* Gentleman of eminent quality: *Claudius de Saincles*, Bishop of *Eureux*, and others; not to mention any *Lutherans*. These have all left us lively Images of *Calvin*, and of his Successor at *Genevah*; the fine Mr. *Theodore Beza*, who could as easily usurp another mans Wife, as an other mans Parish, and was ever more in Love, then in Charity, as they that knew him well, say. But I intend not to meddle here with their lives or vertues; nor yet with any of their School points and Doctrines, which I leave to the more learned to discuss. That which I shall insist upon here, shall be according to my principal purpose

Baldwin Apolog.

De ortu & progress Heresium.

Pantal. in vitâ ejus.

pose to deliver their seditious Paradoxes, and shew unto the World, how much their new refined doctrine doth derogate from Royalty, and that sovereign Authority which belongeth unto all Kings, Princes, and States, rightly constituted; and how much it favoreth the worst of Governments, that is, Pure Democraty or Popularity. And I shall begin with *Calvin*, who goeth more slily and cunningly to work, nothing so rudely and bluntly as *Luther*.

First therefore, for the reputation of his Consistory or *Sanhedrim*, at *Genevah*, he labors to debase Monarchy, and to prefer Aristocracy before it, *Non id quidem per se; Not in it self* (forsooth, as if he had been very tender of the Rights of Kings) *but by reason of mens natural corruption.* Quia rarissime contingit; *Because it is seldom seen*, saith he, *that Princes can govern their Passions so well, or are so wise and prudent, as they ought to be, to uphold good Government.* So he makes it a rare thing, to finde a wise 2. Instit. lib. 4. c. 20. sect. 10.

a wise and moderate King; and so concludes from a general defect, which he supposeth in Kings, that it is best *for many joyntly*, and not *one alone* absolutely to command. *For*, saith he, *where many govern, one supplyeth the defects of another, both in point of Counsel and Justice.* This was his way (politick and plausible enough) to prepare the hearts of his people at *Genevah* to the Discipline, which he intended for them. For you must know, the *Genevians* had now ejected their Bishop, who was also their Sovereign Prince, and had been so ever since the time of *Frederick* the First. So that their Monarchy was newly changed into a popular State, yet governed Aristocratically; which *Calvin* therefore smooths unto the people by such Reasons, as it concerned him to do, this change being as the First-fruits of his new Gospel in that City. So having given this first blow to Monarchy (though therein he seems to forget, that himself was born at *Noyon*,) and finding himself safe

Bodin de Rep.

safe at *Genevah*, he proceeds; and to prevent your objection in behalf of Monarchy, That Kings have always grave and wise Counsellors to advise them, and to supply their defects, in case themselves be weak, he gives his resolution elsewhere. *Kings*, saith he, *make choice of such men for their Counsellors, as can best fit their humors and accommodate themselves to their appetites in the ways of cruelty and deceit.* So he makes them little better by having Counsellors, and stains the reputation of Counsellors themselves with a scandal intolerable. But *Chap.2. v.39.* he is yet more passionate: *They are*, saith he, *out of their wits, quite void of sense and understanding, who desire to live under Sovereign Monarchies; for it cannot be, but order and policy must decay, where one man holds such an extent of Government.* Yea, *Chap. 5. v.25. Kings*, saith he, *oftentimes forget they are men; and of the same mould with others. They are stiled* Dei Gratia, *but to what sense or purpose, save onely to shew, they acknowledge*

Comment. in Dan.11. 26.

Daniel.

no

no Superior on Earth? yet under colour of this, they will trample upon God with their feet; so that it is but an abuse and fallacy, when they are so stiled. Which is a pretty descant, (is it not?) upon *Dei Gratia*; and therefore, *Voila*, saith he, *See what the rage and madness of all Kings is, with whom it is an ordinary and common thing to exclude God from the Government of the World.* And this he writ, not in quality of a Statesman, but of a Divine; in that master-peice of his, his *Institutions*: and in his *Commentaries* upon Scripture he delivereth these dangerous Positions, as matters of Doctrine and of Discipline, to be generally received by all; and makes a *Nebuchadnezzar* of all Kings: But rather out of his own spleen, then out of his Text, by his good leave. For to what purpose can such expressions tend, but to disgrace Scepters, and to scandalize all Governments, that are not framed according to his own mould?

3. And therefore, *Chap. 6. v. 25.* in *Daniel*,

Daniel, he chargeth them directly. *Darius*, ſaith he, *will condemn by his example all thoſe that profeſs themſelves at this day, Catholike Kings, Chriſtian Kings, and Defenders of the Faith; and yet do, not onely deface and bury all true Piety and Religion, but corrupt and depraue the whole worſhip of God.* This indeed is *work for the Cooper*, not by a Mar-Prelate, but a Mar-Prince. The moſt Chriſtian King muſt be new Catechiſed; he that is Catholike, muſt be taught anew by an Uncatholike, that is, a private ſpirit; and the Defender of the Faith, muſt have a new Faith given him to defend, by this great Prophet *Calvin*: And ſo by a new Model all the old Religion of the Church, and all the Laws of State concerning it, muſt be aboliſhed. Thus doth *Calvin* preſume to reform Kings and Government, and pretends to build an Ark (but it is of his own head) to ſave the World, having dreamt, that otherwiſe it muſt periſh by a deluge of Ignorance, Impiety,

piety, and Superstition; of whom it may be truly said, *Plusquam reguare videtur. He must be much more then a Prince himself, who thus presumes to play the Aristarchus, and censurer of Princes.* And that he may not seem to come short of *Luther* his Predecessor, in any degree of immodesty, *Les Roïs* (Chap. 6. v. 3, 4.) *sont presque tous; These Kings,* saith he, *are in a maner all of them a company of Block-heads, and brutish persons*; as wilde and ungoverned *as their Horses, preferring their Bawds and their Vices,* above all things whatsoever. Yet did he write this in an age, when to say but truth, the Princes of Christendom were not so extreamly debauched. *Lewis* the Twelfth, *Francis* the First, and *Henry* the Second of *France,* have left a better fame of themselves to Posterities, then this: So have *Maximilian* the First, and *Charls* the Fifth, Emperors in *Germany. Henry* the Eighth of *England,* degenerated onely in his latter times, and not till he was corrupted by some principles

ciples of this Reforming Liberty: In his children, *Edward* the Sixth there was much hope at leaſt, and in Queen *Mary* much vertue. In *Scotland* reigned *James* the Fifth, and two *Maries*, that might be canonized for their merits: And for *Caſtile*, and *Portugal*, their Kings never flouriſhed more for Government, Greatneſs, encreaſe of State, Plenty, Peace, then in thoſe times. What could his meaning then be, to cenſure them all ſo much for ſtupidity and vice, but to breed a contempt of Kings, and to induce people, that live under Free States, to deſpiſe and hate them; and their own people to caſt of their Government, and procure their Liberties at all adventures? eſpecially under the cloak of Religion; for at this he driveth altogether, as knowing well, That in popular and tumultuary States he ſhould prevail more, then where men of wiſdom, and diſcerning judgements ſit at the Helm. And as *Zuinglius* before him had found, That he could not

induce

induce *Francis* the First to favor him, so *Calvin* well perceived that Kings, and *Dei gratiâ*, would be always blocks in his way. Therefore he is willing to remove them, so far as he can, out of the way, that they may not impeach the current of his Preachings; and to that end, tells them in plain terms, *Abdicant se potestate*; *Princes deprive themselves of all power, when they oppose God; and it is better in such case to spit in their faces, then to obey them:* Which irreverence yet he never learned from the example of any Apostle or Prophet. There is a respect due to the persons of Princes, even when they forget their office, if we be not much mistaken.

Dan. 6. 22.

4. Doctor *Bilson* labors much to save *Calvins* credit in this business with Princes, and to expound the words in some tolerable sense: He says, *Calvin* speaketh not a word of depriving Princes, or resisting him with Arms. That by *Abdicant se* he means not, they loose their Crowns, but their power to command

Christians subject to Anti-christs Rebellion.

mand unlawful things (a fine gloſs, they looſe a power, which they never had) but in lawful things they retain their power ſtill. The phraſe *Conſpuere*, he confeſſeth to be harſh, and that the compariſon was urged by him in vehement words, yet is willing to excuſe them. But as to the firſt plea, it is wholly impertinent, For what though he uſe not the words of *deprivation and reſiſtance*, are therefore the words he uſeth, excuſable? to ſpeak too plainly had been to erre too palpably, which ſtood not with *Calvins* craftineſs. Beſide, what was *Daniels* defence, which he urgeth, it was onely in Humility, Patience, and Prayer? It was not after the violent faſhion of *Genevah*, he did not *ſpit* in *Nebuchadonozors* face, nor tell him, he was unworthy to live. And for the ſecond, *Abdicant ſe*, what means he that Kings do looſe? not *their Crowns, but onely their Power to Command*. Speak plain Engliſh, and be clear: You confeſs the King looſeth *his Power to Command*, but

you

you adde obscurely *in these things*, meaning in matters of Religion; for so it must be understood, though you cast a cloak over the words, and cover the matter. But I desire to know, what is a Kings Crown without power to command: He that teacheth, they loose their Royal Power, doth he not say as much as that they forfeit it? and if they forfeit it, who may challenge and take the forfeiture of such a Crown? But by such Lectures and Doctrines as these, doth not *Calvin* plainly enough arm the Subjects against the Prince, when they *revolt for Religion?* And is not this the very ground of all the Combustion, and Civil Wars in *France?* Yea, but in *other things lawful*, *Princes retain their power.* First, these are not *Calvins* words, but Doctor *Bilsons*, who writes and lives under a Monarchy. *Calvins* words are indifinite, *Abdicant se potestate*: They deprive themselves *of the power they have*, without exception or limitation; absolutely, not

not after a ſort; in all things, not in ſome particular; for altogether, not for ſome time onely, and then to be reſtored: For Princes, once diſpoſſeſſed, ſeldom recover their hold again. Secondly, what Court or Magiſtrates ſhall take cognizance and determine, wherein Kings looſe their power, and wherein not? who ſhall judge and decide the difference between the matters *lawful* and *unlawful*, that you ſpeak of? Though, as I ſay, *Calvins* own words import no ſuch reſtriction at all; which doth plainly appear by his harſh phraſe (as you call it) of *ſpitting in his face*, that is, to defie them openly, and to contemn them and their acts, according to your own interpretation. *But this*, you ſay, *is far from Rebellion*; true, but not from Treaſon. And therefore though he teach not the one, yet he may teach the other. Extenuate the words, as much as you can, yet they will be really heinous and ſeditious: For he that holdeth a King is not worthy *to be, or to live among*

men, doth he not sufficiently *excommunicate* him from his Government? As for your *Insurgunt contra Deum*, it is a stale and Arbitrary pretext, and serves onely to make them odious under a feigned charge of impiety; it convinceth nothing but much impudence and malice in the objectors, who should first learn to be vertuous themselves, before they charge vice so freely upon others, especially Princes: A thing which they never yet were, in any kinde, that the World knoweth. To conclude, this you grant in effect, That if the King of *Babylon* threatens *Daniel* with punishment, in case he will not worship his Idol; or the King of *France* commands his Subjects to obey the Laws, and communicate at the Altar of the Church, in both cases alike *abdicant se potestate*; the Kings loose their power, and Subjects ought not to obey them, but rather to spit in their faces. And this was the reason why Doctor *Allen* objected it to *Calvin*, as seditious Doctrine; and

Doctor

Doctor *Bilson* well knoweth, that seditious Doctrines are not so dainty at *Genevah*. For there it was, that in hatred of three Queen *Maries* of *England* and *Scotland*, that *Calvin* first set a broach that more then seditious Paradox against *Gynocraty*, or the Government of Women; and by instruction and example from him, *Knox* and *Goodman* afterward published their several Books of that subject. Look but upon the History of *Scotland*, Printed by *Wautroller*, *Page* 213. and you will finde, that *Knox* Apologized for all his practises from the authority and judgement of *Calvin*, viz. *That it was lawful for Subjects to reform Religion, when Princes will not.*

And that *Calvins* opinion in the point, may be yet more manifested, the practises of his darling and Scholar, Master *Theodore Beza*, must be considered; who perfectly understood his Doctrine, and did no less bravely put it in execution. In the Preface to his Translation of the *New Testament*, which he maketh 5.

to Queen *Elizabeth*, he writeth thus. *Quo die* (Scil. 19. Decemb.) *Upon which day*, saith he, *two years since, the Nobility and Gentlemen of* France, *under the command of his Excellency, the Prince of* Conde, *being assisted with Your Majesties Auxiliaries, and some others from the Princes of* Germany, *laid the first foundation of the true Reformed Religion in* France, *with their own blood.* This, I hope, Master *Bilson* himself will confess to be Rebellion; yet *Beza* justifieth it openly, yea, glorieth, that himself was not an accessory, but a principal in the business. For after he had commended some other good services of this nature, which the Reforming Parties had done at *Meaulx, Orleans, &c.* He concludes, *Id quod eò libentius testor; Which I speak*, saith he, *the more freely, because I my self, as it pleased God, was present at most of those Counsels and Actions.* It is true, there be some that would excuse even this Action of *Conde*, and the *Hugonots*, pretending, it was not against the King, but

Anno 1564.

but against an evil Counsellor, and to deliver themselves from the oppression of *one*, who abused the Kings youth: That same *one* was the Duke of *Guise*, who being himself a stranger, say they, and hating the Nobility of *France*, on purpose to oppress them of the Reformed Religion, and to set the Crown on his own head, in case the King should die, armed himself into the Field, &c. That thereupon the Nobles of *France* perceiving his malicious designs, *viz.* To murder and destroy so many innocents, took up Arms to defend themselves against such a Tyrant. That, for the Kings consent it was not to be expected, nor, as the case stood, much to be regarded, seeing he was in the hands of the *Guises*; and had neither age to discern, nor freedom to deny, nor power to execute the Law. Lastly, say some, *Beza* teacheth obedience to Magistrates in his Book *De confess. fid.* very largely, and prescribeth no other remedy to private persons oppressed by a Tyrant, Cap. 5. Sect. 45.

rant, but *prayers and tears to amend their lives.* Touching the first point, the Apologists will seem confident, that this Battle of *Dreux* was neither against Law, nor the King; and yet afterward confess, that they understand not the Law of *France*, nor the Circumstances of the War. So they pretend certainty in a matter, wherein they have not Science; which is to beat themselves with their own weapon. But was indeed that War neither against the King, nor the Law? Assuredly against them both, as will appear by the Laws of *Charls* the Eighth, 1487. of *Francis* the First, 1532. of *Francis* the Second, 1560. at *Fountain Bleau*, which I shall cite hereafter in the case of *Rochel* and *Montauban*. Secondly, it is certain, that Battle was not in King *Francis* his time, but in the Reign of *Charls* the Ninth: And after the death of King *Francis*, all men not unacquainted with the proceedings of that time, know full well, that the House of *Guise* did bear no sway at Court; the

Duke

Duke was made, as it were, a ſtranger to the State, the Queen-Mother, the King of *Navar*, and the Conſtable ſate at the ſtern, and ruled all. Therefore it is not true, that the King was in captivity under the faction of *Guiſe*; nor true, that the Duke armed himſelf into the Field, for the Conſtable commanded in cheif; he and the Marſhal of Saint *Andrews*, were the Kings Lieutenants, and had the Kings Commiſſions to warrant what they did. The Duke of *Guiſe* lead onely the Rear of the Army; and though it were his fortune to ſtand maſter of the Field, and to win the day, yet he had not any charge in the Battle, but onely of his own Companies. Thirdly, Neither did the Princes of *Bourbon* take arms onely to deliver themſelves from the oppreſſion of *Guiſe*: For if it were ſo, why did they not lay down, when they ſaw, not the Duke of *Guiſe*, but the Conſtable *Montmorency* coming againſt them, armed no leſs with the Kings Authority, then with

Monſ. *Lanow*'s diſcourſes Monſ. *Mauviſſier*. Comment.

his Forces, to chaſtize them as Rebels. The Conſtable was a man, againſt whom they could pretend nothing; he was the Honor of the Admirals Houſe, the Admirals Kinſman, and his great friend, eſpecially when he was priſoner at *Melun*, by commandment of *Henry* the Second: He was now the Kings Vicegerent in the Field, why did they not reverence him? yea, why did they themſelves begin the fight? why did they firſt affront and aſſail the Kings Army? This therefore is but matter of meer pretext; for *Beza* himſelf confeſſeth plainly, *Ubi ſupra.* This Field was fought *to reſtore or eſtabliſh their* pretended *Religion.* Fourthly, Neither is it true, that the Duke of *Guiſe* is a ſtranger in *France.* Is he a ſtranger in *France*, who is deſcended clearly from the Stock and Line of *Charlemaign*, who is no ſtranger in *France*, I wis? Is he a ſtranger in *France*, who is a Peer of *France*, and Coſin-German to the Prince of *Conde*, their Protector? whoſe own Mother was *Antonietta*,

tonietta, Princeſs of *Bourbon?* whoſe Anceſtors have enjoyed the greateſt Offices and Honors in the Court of *France?* Neither, may we forget the great ſervices they have done for the Crown of *France*, at *Rome*, at *Metz*, *Verdun*, *Theonville*, and at *Calice* eſpecially, in a time when all *France* was in mourning, and diſtreſs too, for the loſs which Monſieur the Admiral had received at St. *Quintins*. Laſtly, that dream, *viz.* That the Duke ſhould aſpire to the Crown, is the pitifulleſt of all, a meer fable taken out of the *Legend of Lorrain*, and other Libels of that time. For how many Walls of Braſs were betwixt him and it? The King himſelf yong, his Brothers yonger; their Mother living, the King of *Navar* their truſty and Noble Friend, with the whole Nobility of *France*, as they themſelves acknowledge: Was it not then a likely object for ſuch a *Strangers* pretenſions?

It being then apparently falſe, 6.
That the King was in the hands,

that is, under the power of *Guise*; let us consider the last Propositon, *viz.* That the Kings Commission, which the Constable had, and the Prince wanted, and fought against at the Battle of *Dreux*, was not much to be regarded, because at that time the King had neither *age to discern*, nor *liberty to deny*, &c. As for Liberty, it is answered already. And for age, what if the King wanted age *naturally*, in his *politick capacity* he did not. We are to know, a King hath two bodies, or his person may be considered under a double capacity, that of Nature, and that of Policy. His Body politick, as it never dieth, so it is never defective of Authority or Direction. The acts of the Body politick be not abated by the Natural bodies access: The Body politick is not disabled to govern by the non-age of the natural. See 26. *Lib. Assis. Placit.* 24. where, by Justice *Thorps* judgement, the gift of a King is not defeated by his non-age. In the Book of *Assis. tit. droit. placit.* 24.

Anno

Anno 6. *Ed.*3. for a Writ of Right brought by *Edward* the Third, of a Manor, as Heir to *Richard* the First, the exception of non-age against the King was not admitted. For though the Natural body dieth, yet the Body politick (which magnifieth and advanceth the quality of the Natural) is not said to die. So 4. *Eliz*, The Leases of the Dutchy made by *Edward* the Sixth, were resolved by all the Judges to be good, though made in the Kings minority. So though the Kings Body natural, cannot discern or judge, yet that disableth not the King, that the acts of his Minority ordered by his Counsel and the Regent, should be of no validity; which their own *Hottoman* in his *Franco-Gallia* might have taught them. And let them resolve us, whether the Counsel and State of *England* would take it well, if a Catholike should affirm (as he might do, much more truly,) that the change of Religion made by *Edward* the Sixth, was not warrantable, being done in his Minority,

nority, and when he had neither *age to discern* what he did, nor *liberty to discern* any thing to the Protector, and *Northumberland*, in whose hands he was. If you approve not this Argument, why do you disallow the same plea for the Authority of the King of *France?* was the age of the one a Bar in Law, and not in the other? or was the one an absolute King, and not the other? was King *Edwards* consent sufficient to authorize his Uncles doings, and was King *Charls* his consent insufficient, and nothing worth to authorize the Constable with his Army to pursue and punish their Army of Rebels? *Beza's* opinion therefore *In confess. fid.* is much contrary to what he alloweth and commendeth here. For if there be no other remedy, but *preces* and *lachrymæ* for private persons against the oppressions of a Tyrant, he betrayed the Admiral and the Prince very foully, to bring them into the fields of *Dreux*, to fight against the King for Religion.

Doctor

Doctor *Bilſon* hath taken up ſomewhere one notable ſingularity to excuſe the Prince of *Conde*, *viz.* That he was not an abſolute Subject of *France*, ought not *ſimple ſubjection* to the Crown; *Ergo*, might lawfully do ſomething more then others. But it argueth ſuch a groſs ignorance in the Laws of *France*, and in the ſtate of that Prince, that it deſerveth more to be pitied, then anſwered. Neither could it help the Admiral, who had no other Protection then that of his Sword, nor Priviledge, but from his new Religion.

But becauſe that ſmooth profeſſion of *Beza* above mentioned, is ſo much inſiſted on, and cunningly uſed, as it were, to caſt a miſt before the eyes of an unwary Reader, it will be neceſſary to clear that buſineſs a little further, by letting you ſee the man himſelf in more proper colours, as in relation to this point. Firſt, therefore read his Poſitions and Catechiſm of Seditions, *viz.* That Book of his called *Vindiciæ* 7.

dicia contra Tyrannos : There acting the part of *Junius Brutus* (a Noble *Roman* indeed, but great enemy of Kings) he propounds in the first place this Question, Whether Subjects be bound to obey their Kings, when they command contrary unto Gods Law, and resolveth presently, *Pag.* 22. *We must obey Kings for Gods sake, when they obey God :* But otherwise, *Pag.* 24. we are absolved; *For as the Vassal,* saith he, *looseth his Fief or Lordship, if he commit Felony; so doth the King loose his Right, and his Realm also, viz.* By commanding contrary unto Gods Law : Which considering that *Gods Law* is onely as they themselves shall think good to interpret it, is dangerous enough. But *Pag.* 65. he is more notable. *Conspiracy,* saith he, *is good or ill, according as the end is, at which it aimeth :* Which is a most pernicious Maxim, and a Doctrine fit for nothing but to encourage *Ravillac, Poltrot,* or some such villanous assassinate to his desperate work, or to be a buck-

ker

ler to the Conſpirators at *Amboiſ*. So *Pag.* 66. *The Magiſtrates*, ſaith he, *or any one part of the Realm may reſiſt the King, being an Idolater, as* Lobna *revolted from* Joram, *when he forſook God.* And *Pag.* 132. *The Government of the Kingdom is not given to the King alone, but alſo to the Officers of the Realm.* And again, *Pag.* 103. *The Kings of* France, ſaith he, Spain *and* England, *are crowned, and put, as it were, into poſſeſſion of their charge by the States, Peers, and Lords, which repreſent the people.* And *Pag.* 199. *There is a ſtipulation in all Kingdoms Hereditary: As in* France, *when the King is crowned, the Biſhops of* Beauvois *and* Loan *ask the people, if they deſire and command, This man ſhall be King.* What if they do? it is no argument, that the people do therefore *chuſe him* to be King (for his Kingdom is confeſſed already to be *Hereditary*, and ſo the Succeſſion determined by Law;) much leſs that they *make him ſuch.* It is an acceptation onely, not an election; a declaration of their willing Subjecti-

on,

on, Obedience, and Fidelity towards him, and nothing else, as you may be well informed out of *Francis Rosselets* Ceremonies at the Consecration or Inauguration of the Kings of *France*. Was there ever an Assembly of Estates held to consecrate or elect a King of *France?* or do the Kings of *France* count the time of their Reign from their Inauguration onely, and not from their entrance? was not *Charls* the Seventh full Eight years King of *France*, before he was crowned, as the *French Historians* themselves report? or think you, that the Peers are *Ephori?* No, they are *Pares inter se*, but not Companions to the King. They are not States, as in *Holland*, to rule and direct all Affairs: For in *France* and *England* all the Authority depends upon the Kings; and what is the State, but the Authority of the Prince? Who onely by his Letters Patents createth Peers, disposeth all Offices, giveth all Honors, receiveth all Homages in cheif, as being the sole Fountain

Gaguin.
Giles.

tain from whence ſpringeth both Nobility and Authority: And he that would either reſtrain this Sovereignty within any narrower bounds, or communicate it to others, makes no difference between the Crown of a King, and the *Berrette* of a Duke of *Venice*. Many other Maxims and Rules he hath of this nature, fit for nothing but to introduce Anarchy, and confuſion in the World; moſt of them falſe, all of them dangerous: Vails onely to cover the ugly faces of Sedition and Treaſon; becauſe in their proper ſhapes, no man living can abide to ſee them.

I might here travel, and weary you further, with as much good ſtuff out of his Book *De Jure Magiſtratus*; for his it is, as moſt men think, or elſe *Hottomans*, who was his Comrade. But I ſhall leave them both; for indeed they touch the ſtring of Sovereignty with too rough a hand; yea, rather they ſtrain to break it, if they could, by ſuch groſs and miſinterpretable Paradoxes; 8.

Paradoxes; as when they say, *The States are above the King*; that is, the Body above the Head: As if any man could seriously make it a question, whether people should be commanded by the Master, or by some of their fellow-servants, by the Subject, or by the Sovereign, by the Prince of *Conde*, and the Admiral, or by their Lawful King and Sovereign, King *Charls*. And therefore had King *Philip* good reason to cut off the head of *that Justice of Arragon*, upon a just occasion, and to teach the people by example, what the true meaning was of *Nos qui podemos tanto come vos*. All which Paradoxes, it were easie to refel, but that I have undertaken onely to discover, and not to combate: And because they are both learnedly and piously confuted already by *Barclay*, *Baurican*, and *Blackwood*. Onely by the way I shall desire you to observe, how politickly they go to work. They profess not openly and absolutely any desire to change the State, or to depose Kings. But this

this they do, They labor by insinuation, first to breed some dislike of Monarchs in the mindes of people, and to shew how inconvenient it is, for such an infinite multitude and variety of people to depend upon the Edicts of one man. This being done, they know it is then easie, and they may much better advance the authority of inferior Magistrates; and by them, emboldned by such degrees to contest at last, and jar with their Superiors, under a pretence of Reforming abuses, and pulling down Idolatry, they become able to pull down Kings themselves, and to level *the Creators*; that is to say, the cheif Authors, and origin of all lawful Power exercised in their respective Kingdoms, with the most inferior *Creatures* themselves, upon whom it should be exercised. And after this, they are sure, their Consistories and Elders must rule all, be Judges both of Clergy and Law, Councel and King: They must be henceforward the onely Rabbies, and from their

their onely *Sanhedrim* or *Genevian* Consistory, must the Oracles of all Government be fetcht both for Church and Kingdom. Neither can I forget how irreverently *Eusebius Philadelphus* (*viz.* Master *Theodore Beza* disguised) used his Sovereign King *Charls* in his other Book of *Reveille Matin*, where usually he calls the King Tyrant, and of his name, *Charls Valois*, makes this Anagram *Chasseur Desloyal*, that is, neither more nor less, *Perfidious Hunter*, *or Persecutor*, chuse you whether. Read his rimes and scandalous reproaches of the Queen-Mother, himself being a fugitive, for more crimes then one, deservedly most infamous. Peruse the Forty Articles recorded in that Book, for the better advancing of seditious Government: For example, *Art.* 25. All Generals and Commanders in cheif, must observe the Ecclesiastical Discipline ordained by their Synods. *Art.*40. They are bound never to disarm, so long as their Religion is persecuted (as they

they call it) by the King. This is the *patience of those Saints:* But what is become of their *Preces & lachrymæ* in the mean time? That pretending to reform the World, are so little masters of their own Passions. But in Article fourteen and fifteen, their spirits and designs appear in their bravery, aiming at no less, then the utter overthrow of the King, and extirpation of the whole family of *Valois*, as any man may perceive that reads them. These were those Holy Articles of *Bearn*, *Anno* 1574. so much talked of over all *France*, coyned with *Beza*'s own stamp, and at *Melun* dispersed, and communicated to their inferior *Moschees*, all the Kingdom over, to the intent, as they expressly avowed, *That they might make war more strongly against their Enemies*, (who were no other but the King, and whole State of *France*,) *and till it should please God*, say they, *to turn the heart of the Tyrant*; that is, of the *French King*, their Natural and Lawful Sovereign.

About

About the same time also was framed and published by their Emissaries, that libellous life of *Catharine de Medices* Queen-Mother, *France-Gallia*, the *Tocsan* of *Massacreurs*, together with that fine-piece mentioned before, called the *Legend of Lorrain*. For this is very observable, and it is an honor which the House of *Guise* hath had a long time, that no man ever professed himself an Enemy to the Church of God in *France*, but he was likewise at deadly feud with them.

9. All which proceedings were so notorious and unexcusable in those times, that even their fellow Protestants here in *England*; those, I mean, of better note and more moderated judgement do acknowledge them with dislike. *The Protestants of the French Church*, saith Doctor *Sutcliff*, *for thirty years together taught violent Reformation by the Nobility, people, and private persons.* And again, *Beza*, saith he, *in his Book* De jure Magistratus, *doth arm the Subject against the Prince, and in effect*

Answ. to a Lib. suppl.

effect overthroweth the Authority of Christian Kings and Magistrates. And the Book Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos *gives power*, saith he, *not onely to resist, but to kill the King, if he impugn Gods true Religion.* The same also is affirmed by the late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Doctor *Bancroft*, in the *Survey of Discipline*, but most copiously and at large in the Book of *Dangerous Positions*, especially about *Pag.* 192. *& seq.* To these I may adde *Francis Baldwin*, a famous Lawyer of *France*, who lived a long time with *Calvin* at *Genevah*, and knew all their proceedings very well. *Mirabar*, saith he, *I wondred a long while, whether your fiery Apostle (viz. Theodore Beza) would tend, who in his Sermons here so much extolled that fact of the Levites running up and down the Tents of* Israel, *and slaying every man his Brother that had committed Idolatry: But I hear now, that your self are not much satisfied with such Ministers.* And again, *Pag.* 128. *Leviora sunt ista, All this is nothing*, saith he, *in comparison of* Respons. ultim. ad Jo. Calvin. Exod. 32.

that

that which follows. For now men make war even upon the dead; The Statues, the Sepulchres, the very bones and bodies of Martyrs, Princes, &c. *scape not their barbarous hands; Cities are sacked, Churches robbed and spoiled,* &c. Which *Beza* is so far from excusing, that he justifieth them rather, and professeth to his Epist. 40. Friend *Christopher Thretius*, That for his part he *hath no thoughts of peace*, that is, that if such outrages and villanies should cease, *Nisi de ellatis hostibus, until the Enemies* (so he calls the Kings Army, and all the Catholikes of *France* with them) *be totally subdued.* But we ought not to wonder at it: It is *Morbus innatus*, to all Sacramentaries, a disease bred in their bones, that is, in the very vitals and entrails of their cause, to be seditious, and dangerous to their Princes. *Zuinglius*, their Patriarch, first taught them the Lesson, who *Tom.* 1. of his works, *Art.* 2. delivers this for an Oracle, *viz.* That *Reges quando perfidè & extra regulam Christi egerint, &c. When Kings*

break

break Faith with their people, and do otherwise then the rule of Christ directs them. (which *rule* themselves will onely interpret.) *Possunt cum Deo deponi; They may be deposed with right good Conscience.* Doctor *Bilson* is here again entangled, and troubles himself and his Reader not a little to finde som Apology for this Paradox. *I undertake not,* saith he, first, *To defend each mans several opinion:* Wisely spoken. Secondly, *They may be deposed,* saith he, *when they advance ungodlinesse, as* Saul *was.* May they so? where is the *Samuel,* the Prophet extraordinarily, and on purpose sent from God, that shall do it? may the people do it? *No,* saith he, blushing, or afraid to affirm that, and therefore seems to leave it as a priviledge, or a matter reserved to the judgement of the Elders. But *Zuinglius* himself deals more plainly, and tells you, *Art.* 42. and 43. who shall do it. *Cum suffragiis & consensu totius aut majoris, &c. When,* saith he, *such a Tyrant is deposed by consent of all, or*

the major part of the people, it is well done, and as God would have it. Therefore in his Epistle to *Conradus Sonnius*, he professeth, That *obedience* or respect, is due unto *Cæsar*, *onely upon condition*, viz. *That he permits them entire Liberty of Religion*; which yet is more then the *Lutherans* themselves, their pretended Brethren, will do: Otherwise, saith he, it should be *sin in them*, and make them *guilty before God* to obey him. Thus boldly doth a Minister of Sedition take upon him to determine, whether, and upon what terms a Sovereign Prince, yea, the supream and cheif of all Christian Princes, shall either hold his Dignity, or be dethroned. If *Cæsar* will be wise, and advised by them, they will obey; otherwise, they not onely may with Justice, but are obliged to take a course with him. To which end, and that they might be ready, when time and opportunity should serve their turn, to put such Doctrine in execution, in his Epistle to them of *Ulm*, one of the

Lib. 4. p. 868.

Lib. 4. p. 196.

Imperial

Imperial, or free Cities of *Germany*, as they are called; he adviseth the fraternity of Ministers there, very properly, *viz.* That they remember *by little and little, warily, and by degrees*, Detrahere personam Imperio *Romano*, &c. *To pull off this vizor of the* Roman *Empire* from their Auditory, and make them see, what a folly it is for them *to acknowledge a* Roman *Empire in the midst of* Germany, *which is not regarded at* Rome *it self*. Could there be a project devised more wretchedly dangerous and disloyal, then this, against the Emperor? O the depths of Heretical malice and treachery! They must do it, not *suddenly*, not *openly*, not *all at once*, (for that were to spoil all,) but *sensim, paulatim, prudenter*, now a little, and then a little, as the people shall appear capable of such Counsels, and the poyson of Rebellious suggestions shall be most likely to be received, and to work upon them. Certainly a most plain and full discovery of the *Reforming Design*; and by it the Princes

and all States of *Europe* may see what they are to expect from that sort of people, when they have once given them power enough to pull their Superiors down.

10. Having thus declared the Principles and Aphorisms of this great Triumvirate of the *French Church*, viz. *Zuinglius*, *Calvin*, and *Beza*, those Ecclesiastical Tribunes of the people, and Ring-leaders of Rebellion; I am now to make it appear also *ex effectis*, or by the evident practise of such principles, That *Genevah* is, and hath been a School of Rebellion to all these parts of Christendom, and a Seminary in particular of all the Civil Wars in *France*. Neither shall I blot their names with any false aspersions: For as their practise is the best Commentary of their Positions and Writings; so it is the best tryal of their Loyalty, and can give in best evidence, whether they be (as they will yet pretend, and seem to be) good Patriots, and faithful Subjects. I shall shew both their first beginnings,

nings, progreſs, and continuance, at this preſent time; and this ſo much as may be, in a method, ordering their diſorderly crimes under theſe general heads, *viz.* Firſt, Their Conſpiracies againſt the King: Secondly, Their Battles fought againſt the Kings Armies and Officers: And thirdly, Their horrible Outrages and Villanies committed, incomparable for cruelty, and incredible for diſloyalty.

The firſt of their Conſpiracies taken notice of, was that of *Amboiſe*; there they began the Scene of their Tragedy, on this maner. At an Aſſembly they had at *Nantes*, in the year 1560. certain of the *Calviniſts* conſpired among themſelves to ſeize the Kings perſon, and ſurprize the Court; to apprehend the two principal of the *Guiſes*, upon an accuſation, That they ſought to invade and poſſeſs themſelves of the Crown, and thereby to ruine the Princes of the Blood, and to ſuppreſs Religion. This being ſecretly, yet upon great deliberation con- II.

eluded by them in the Moneth of *January*, was to be executed the Tenth of *March* following, at *Blois*. The cheif of the Conſpiracy was *Godfrey de Barry*, ſirnamed *de Renaudy*: By this man it was imparted to the Prince of *Conde*, who diſliked it not, but onely wiſhed it could be executed in ſome form of Law. While they ſtood thus at *Demurrer*, the buſineſs hapned to be ſtrangely, and beſide all their expectation diſcovered; firſt, by a Secretary of the Cardinal of *Lorrains*, afterward by more perfect Intelligence and Information from Cardinal *Granvellan*, out of the *Low Countries*. Whereupon the King ſuddenly removing to *Amboiſe*, the Conſpirators were diſappointed, both of time and place; ſo as the forces which they had levied and appointed for that exploit, wandered up and down for ſome while without any Commander in Cheif appearing, and were in a ſhort ſpace after, moſt of them apprehended and gathered up by the Duke of

Nemours

Nemours his Troops; among others there were taken, the Baron of *Caſtelnau*, and Monſieur *Pardillan*. *Renaudy* the General was ſlain, and ſome others executed. The Duke of *Guiſe*, in the mean time, providently took order for the ſafety of the King, and the Court, and ſo aſſured himſelf of the perſon of the Prince of *Conde*, that he had not power to attempt any thing to their prejudice. He was afterwards committed upon this buſineſs, yea, condemned to looſe his head: Yet nevertheleſs, *Charls* the Ninth, upon ſome politick Reaſons of State, and becauſe he was ſo neer a Kinſman, and a Prince of the Blood, not onely gave him enlargement, but, for his honor, and to aſſure his fidelity the more, if that had been poſſible, he acquitted him alſo, and declared him innocent of the Conſpiracy. This was the firſt attempt of the *Calviniſts* for Religion, and *Bonum Publicum*. Their ſecond ſhould have been executed at *Meaulx* upon the perſon of *Charls* Monſ. *Caſtelnau* Comment.

the Ninth, in the year 1567. But by the noble ſervice of the Duke of *Nemours*, and of the *Switzers*, the King, though with ſome difficulty, eſcaped. Their purpoſe was here, as before, to have poſſeſſed themſelves of the Kings perſon, and of the Duke of *Anjou* his Brother, to have put the Queen-Mother with ſome others marked out, to death: but, as I ſaid, by the valor and fidelity of the Duke of *Nemours*, with the aid of the *Switzers*, they recovered *Paris* by a ſudden flight in the night, and ſo were all ſaved: Onely the Cardinal of *Lorrain* (a perſon, whom they principally deſired to entrap) was forced to take another way, yet he made ſhift to get privately to *Rhemes*, and there died. A third was at St. *Germans in lay* againſt both King and Queen-Mother; for which, although onely *Mole* and *Coconas* loſt their heads, through the ill management of the buſineſs; yet were there ſo many heads and hands both, engaged in it; That it was matter of great trouble,

trouble, disquiet, and danger unto *France*, for a long time after. And this onely of their Conspiracies, or of such Treacherous designs, as never went further then Intention.

To inform you of their open and actual Rebellions in the Field, where they sought by force of Arms, and with the Sword in their hands, to compel the King to grant them what Liberty and Terms of Pacification they liked; we are first to call again to minde, that so famous, and indeed furious Battle upon the Plains of *Dreux*, of which *Beza* formerly boasted, That the foundations of Reformed Religion in *France* were first laid, and as it were, *consecrated* therein. Let us remember also the Battle of Saint *Dennis*, the Battle of *Jarnac*, the Battle of *Coutras*, the Battle of *Moncontour*, together with the besiedging of *Roan*; and how much, and Noble Blood was spilt in all these Actions. At *Roan* the King of *Navar* lost his life; at Saint *Dennis* 12.

the Conſtable was ſlain; at *Jarnac* the Prince of *Conde*; and at *Contras* the Noble Duke of *Joyeuſe* ended his days. The Fields are yet ſtained, *France* was let-blood too prodigally, and ſtrangers brought in, as Surgeons to launce her wounds, who have left behinde them, greater cauſe of Lamentation, then Remembrance. At *Moncontour*, where the Admiral ſtood alone, as the ſole Champion of the Reformed Churches. The *Miſſa-pulta* teſtified what their quarrel was, which by *Beza*'s deviſe was advanced as a Baſilisk, to beat down the Royal Standard of *France*, and the *Labarum* or Croſs of *Conſtantine*.

13. Now as concerning the outrages, aſſaſſinations, and other miſcheifs done and committed by theſe ſpirits of Reformation, yet pretending nevertheleſs to be altogether innocent of Blood and Murther: *Poltro*: in this *Kalender* muſt have the firſt place, for killing the Duke of *Guiſe*, who was the Kings Lieutenant General at that time, ſo baſely

basely and treacherously as he did; confessing it afterward before the Queen-Mother, and avouching that *Beza* had both counselled and encouraged him to the Action. After him, we may remember how the Protestants in *Valentia* used *Signeur de la Motte Gondrin*, the Kings Lieutenant in *Daulphin*, who had assured them, in case they would live peaceably and quietly with the Catholikes, he would bring none of the Kings Soldiers upon them; yet notwithstanding this, they assembled forces of their own privately, surprized *La Motte*, and hung him up instantly in cold blood, without any provocation, save onely of their own malice; to shew their contempt of the King, and scorn of his Officers among them: Which was a villany not sufferable in any Commonwealth, especially where such favor and connivence had been offered, but immediately before. We may remember the Conspiracy of *Simon May*, a man induced by the same

spirit,

ſpirit, and inſtructed out of the ſame School, to kill the Queen-Mother, and *Henry* the Third: But his purpoſe being diſcovered, he was apprehended, and had his deſert. Neither can the buſineſs be excuſed or ſhifted off with any colors; himſelf confeſſed it, and accuſed Seigneur *de la Tour*, and Monſieur *d'Avantigny*, two Gentlemen of good parentage, yet birds of a Feather, to have been his Counſellors and Abettors in the Plot: Whereupon they were both of them apprehended, but afterward releaſed by His Majeſty for private reaſons, not being willing, as ſome thought at that time, to ſearch too deep into the wound, either for the men engaged in it, or the matter it ſelf; yet this was not all. They proceed much further, and ſeize upon the Kings own Rents and Revenues; they coyn money, and ſurprize, either by fraud or force of Arms, the cheif Cities of the Realm, *Orleans*, *Troyes*, *Poictiers*, *Tours*, *&c.* putting in Garriſons and

Governors

Governors of their own party, and for their own ends. They deliver one of the Keys of *France* into the custody and command of Forreigners: All which were attempts of the Highest Treason that could be, and usurpations of the Prerogative Royal, being done without colour of Commission, or Warrant from the King, and contrary to his express Will and the Law. *Nicholas Froumenteau*, a Minister of the new Edition, confesseth, That in *Daulphin*, onely the Army of the *Hugonots* killed Two hundred fifty and six Priests, and One hundred and twelve Monks and Friers, burnt Nine hundred Towns and Villages. And yet what a pitiful tale do the *Calvinists*, and others, tell of a Massacre at *Vassy*, by the Duke of *Guise*, as if no cruelty had been comparable to that? Which yet indeed was nothing at all in comparison of these, and was done without the Dukes consent; as not onely Monsieur *Chasteauneuf* in his Commentaries, but also *Thuanus*, who was a man

Lib. des *Financ.* de *France.*

Thuan. Historiar. lib. 29.

man never ſuſpected to be of the *Guiſian* Faction, do expreſly avouch: Yea, the blood that was drawn from the Duke himſelf, laboring to have appeaſed the fray at the beginning, was the cauſe, that ſome quantity more was drawn from thoſe *Hugonots*, by the Dukes ſervants, then otherwiſe there needed to have been. No, it was a toy and a trifle in reſpect of thoſe outragious exceſſive carnages of *Montbriſon*, of *Mornàs*, and many other places acted by the *Hugonots*. But ſuch was the calamity of thoſe times, They which moſt juſtly deſerved, and unjuſtly complained againſt perſecution, did perſecute their Neighbors moſt unjuſtly and tyrannically. Let the world, and all indifferent men judge by this. In theſe Civil Wars there were no leſs then Twenty thouſand Churches deſtroyed by Proteſtants: and yet theſe men were born, as they ſay, to edifie the Church. Is it not likely? Could *Mahomet* himſelf edifie better? or was his Alchoran,

and

and Turkish Superstition set up any other way, then by the power of a Tyrants Sword, and pulling down of Christian Churches? I shall not commend any Act of Cruelty in whomsoever, yet let men that are impartial, consider, how they can justly blame *Charls* the Ninth, King of *France*, for his proceedings against this sort of people at *Paris*, and some other places, in the year 1572. The Admiral, being the principal Instrument and mover of all those Seditions and Troubles, which for a long time had disquieted *France*, and indangered so much the very life and person of the King, the Queen Mother, and other of the Princes, who can wonder, if his Majestie at last were compelled to use a mean extraordinary and somewhat rough, for the cutting off such a Pestilent Member with his Complices, who did nothing, but Gangren-like, perpetually corrupt and indanger the whole body of his State, yea and often threatned the Head it self.

'Tis

'Tis well known, he was come to ſuch height at this time, that he Reigned in *France*, as it were ſome Petty King in a Common-wealth, meerly through the aſſiſtance of ſuch people as had, by his Means and Sollicitation chiefly, revolted from their Lawful and Natural Sovereign; he maintained in *France* an open War againſt the King and Crown of *France*, he Sollicited and called in ſtrangers to his aid, levied Contributions, exacted Tributes, coyned Mony, ſeized the Kings Revenues, invaded his Towns, contemned all his Laws; yea what actions of Sovereignity did he not uſurp & exerciſe, in contempt of his Sovereign? For which, having been firſt proclaimed Traytor in the year 1569. he afterward met with the puniſhment, which both he and his, had moſt juſtly deſerved, though the way of Execution was very extraordinary indeed, and hath no excuſe, but neceſſity.

14 But perhaps you are ready to ſay, This age hath reformed thoſe errors

rors, such violencies, as were formerly used, are now ceased, and that, at present more charitable, mild, and civil proceedings are held by the *Hugonots*. It is not so; They have the same principles, and the same spirits still, which upon occasion they are not slow to manifest: And to make this more plain, I shall give you a relation of the true state and condition of those reformed Churches (as they call themselves) in *France* at this very time, *viz. Anno* 1621. wherein, not to trouble you with any thing concerning the infinite troubles & great charges, which they forced their Sovereign *Lewis* 13. to be at, and endure all the last Summer and Winter; nor concerning their Garboils at *Tours*; nor the practises of the *Rochellers* to have put a Garrison of Six thousand men into *Saumur*, on purpose to have given work to the Kings Army thereabouts, and to hinder their March to *Montauban*; nor concerning their revolt and disloyal practises at *Gergeau*, standing out against

againſt the Count St. *Paul* Governour of the Province of *Orleance*; and at *Sancer*, againſt the Prince of *Conde*: nor to exaggerate the Treacheries and Conſpiracies of *Vatteville* in *Normandy*, which yet were ſo plainly proved by his own Papers and Inſtructions intercepted, that the Duke of *Longueville* was compelled thereupon to diſarm thoſe of *Deep*, *Roan*, and *Caen*, to prevent danger, and fearing, leaſt they ſhould joyn with *Vatteville*; I ſay, omitting all theſe, which yet were actions and paſſages, wherein much malignity and undutifulneſs to their Sovereign was apparent, I ſhall begin onely with the buſineſs of St. *Jean* d' *Angely*, which held out a long time, and refuſed ſubmiſſion, Notwithſtanding the King in perſon demanded it of them, and that Monſieur *Soubize*, Commander of the place for the *Hugonots*, were Summoned to render the Town, or to ſtand to the Peril and Attaynt of Treaſon; yet they contemned all, and held it out to the very laſt point,

point, that they had any hopes of help left them. At *Montauban* how was his Majestie defied and despited, as it were, to His Face? continuing in person at the Siedge thereof for a long time together, with an Army of Noble and most Expert Soldiers, many of whom (men of Eminent Desert and Dignity) were lost in that service, especially the two Brothers the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the Marquis of *Villars*, who were generally lamented. And to draw the Kings eyes the more upon them, it is said by some, They had set upon their Gates this insolent Motto, *viz. Roy sans foy, Ville sans peur*, importing, that the *King had no Faith* nor the *Towns no fear*. Yea so obstinate were they in their resolution of disobedience, that for the present, they forced His Majestie upon advice, to defer their merited punishment, and to raise the Siedge: Whereupon the Insolent *Burgers*, after the Kings Army was departed, lead the whole Clergy of the Town, as it were, in Triumph, using

using them with many scornful indignities, for which they smarted, not undeservedly, the year following. In *Montpellier* and *Languedoc* the *Hugonots* deprived Monsieur *Chastillon* of all his Governments, by a pretended Sentence of their Consistory, which is very observable; and razed at the least Six and thirty Parish Churches, and Chappels there. Nor do they usurp onely upon the Royalties of the King (though that be too much) they are as bold, where they prevail, with the Inheritances and Estates of Private persons. At *Privas* they would not suffer the Viscount *l'Estrainge* to enjoy his Lordship of that place, onely because he was a Catholike: They put him out of his own Castle at *Lake*, whereof the Marshal *Momorency* had but lately given him possession, and give it to *Brison* one of their own fraternity, upon a pretence that it belonged to him: yet was it none of the Towns of assurance, nor comprized in the list at *Brewet* in the year 1598. neither would

would they permit the Kings Juſtices, delegated thither to compound controverſies, ſo much as to hear Maſs, though private, or to have any exerciſe of their Religion.

What Society or Common-wealth can ſtand, if upon pretence of Religion, ſuch petulant uſurpers as theſe, may diſſeize Right-owners of their Eſtate at pleaſure, and hold whatſoever they get, upon a pretence, that it is for the uſe and ſecurity of ſome Confederate Goſpellers? But what cauſe have they to ryot thus upon their Neighbors, and Fellow-ſubjects? The King is content, they ſhould quietly enjoy what is theirs, yea and ſecurly uſe the liberty of their Religion. Will not this content them? Should not Catholikes, in all reaſon and equity, enjoy the ſame? Yet will they not live peaceably themſelves, Notwithſtanding ſuch royal Favor, nor Converſe peaceably with Catholikes. They obey not the Kings Laws for all this, not, I mean, in 15.

Temporal

Temporal Affairs, wherein he onely pretends to command them. At Saint *Jean* d' *Angely* the King assured them, he would protect all those of the reformed Religion in *France*, that would obey him, and observe his Edicts. He promised and performed no less to *Malloret*, who was sent to him, as Deputy from the Assembly of *Lower Guienne*: He did the like to the Duke of *Tremoville* Son in Law to Monsieur *Bovillon*, who came to that seidge tendring his service, and protesting obedience to His Majestie; was not the Government of *Saumur* that so famous, and considerable a place, given by His Majestie to the *Count* de *Sault*, Grandchilde of the Duke *Desdiguieres*, though he were known to be of the Reformed Religion? Did he not long before, *viz.* in the year 1615. answer the Petition of the *Hugonots*; That he meant not by his Oath at Consecration (which was for the *Repressing of Heresies*) to comprehend therein, *Those His Subjects of the Reformed Religion, who would*

would live obediently under his Laws and Authority? And how graciously the King dealt with *Rochel*, all the world knoweth; how willing was he rather to regain and reduce it, then to destroy it? How much and often did His Majestie employ Monsieur the Duke *Desdiguieres* to perswade them to conformity and obedience? How much and often did he (the said Duke) solicite them accordingly by Letters, to return to their duty, propoſing them Articles, which all the world, but themselves would have thought reasonable? Yet the Deputies *Chalas*, and *Favas*, obstinately refused them, till it was too late: What can a King do more then seek the winning of his Subjects, so far as 'tis possible, by fair and gracious means? Yet see the recompence, which His Majestie found from such Spirits: It was no other, then a long and frivolous Declaration published against his proceedings, wherein, instead of acknowledging their own Crimes, they tax His Majestie of much injustice,

justice, persecution, and I know not what other designs, which they charge him to prosecute by the counsel and inducement of certain persons, that were *Enemies of the State*, as they said, and *of their Religion*, the Cankerworm of it.

16. To discover and disprove the vanity of which pretences, I shal search *ab origine*, and deliver you the true causes of the Kings proceedings against these *Male-contents*; and how great reason, or necessity rather, he had by Arms to maintain his Royal Authority, which they by Arms sought either to contemn or usurp: that is, wherefore he was constrained at *Myort* to proclaim *Rochel* and all their Adherents Rebels against him, and guilty of treason. First it appears by the Edict of *Nantes*, *Art.* 77. That King *Henry* the Fourth had discharged the Protestants from holding any Assemblies General or Provincial; likewise from all Unions and Leagues, and from holding of any Counsel, or Decreeing and Establishing any

Acts

Acts by them: Likewise *Art.* 82. from holding any Correspondencies or Intelligences without the Realm: Yea *Art.* 32. They might not hold any Synods Provincial, without the Kings License. All which Articles they also promised to observe; but, as all *France* and the world knoweth, have broken them every one. And not onely so, but they have intruded upon the State it self, taking and fortifying places of assurance, without any Warrant from the King,; and contrary to an expres order set down in *August*, in the year 1612. whereby it evidently appeareth, to be of the *Kings Royal favor and goodnes* to assign them places of surety, and not for them to chuse, or usurp where they please. Adde to this their notable presumption, and disobedience shewen, in laboring so much to introduce the reformed Churches of *Bearne*, and to annex them to those of *France by an Act of Union* (as they call'd it) *both Spiritual and Temporal*, passed at *Rochel*

in the year 1617. In which buſineſs they were ſo confident, That they did not onely juſtifie their pretended act by Apology, but promiſed all poſſible aſſiſtance to *Bearn*; yea, and bound themſelves by Oath, Firſt, To obſerve and execute whatſoever was determined in that Aſſembly; Secondly, To venture their Lives and Eſtates in maintenance thereof; and thirdly, Not to reveal or make known any Propoſitions, Advices, or Reſolutions taken or made in that Aſſembly, unto any perſon whatſoever, no not to the King himſelf. All which was done by them, not onely irregularly, and without Law, but moſt contemptuouſly alſo; in as much as they well knew, that the King of *France* had ſent to all the Provinces, and expreſly forbad that *Union*; yea, and had made a Decree of his Councel to the contrary. Beſides, how they uſed *Reguard*, whom the King had ſent into *Bearn* as his Commiſſioner about the Church Goods, and what diſorders they

they committed at *Paw* against him, is scarce credible. Not to speak any thing of their Assembly holden at *Loudun*, with most obstinate disobedience to the Kings command. At *Grenoble* the King was content, and gave them leave to hold an Assembly; but that all the World might see, what a factious and froward spirit governed them, they refuse the place, and by their own authority assemble at *Nismes*. At *Chastelrault* and *Saumur* the King suffered them to Assemble, onely to chuse two Deputies, who were to remain at Court, and receive the Kings Orders concerning them, and to exhibite from time to time their own Plaints and Grievances, as occasion should be: Contrary to this they make an *Act of Union* there also, and take the same Oath, which the Confederate Catholikes, then in Arms, had not long before taken; yet with this difference, That whereas the Catholikes protest their service to His Majesty, *so long as he continued Catholike*;

like; which was to oblige him to no more, then his Oath and the Intereſt of His Royal Office required of him, ſo long as he lived: Theſe *Hugonots* proteſt theirs onely on this condition, *viz. Le Sovereign Empire de Dieu demeurant touſiours en ſon entier*; that is to ſay in effect, *So far as may ſtand with their duty to God:* Which, whoſoever knows, what a *Hugonot* thinks *is his duty to God*, will confeſs to be a reſtriction of an equivocal and perillous ſignification to a King of *France*. And ſo they did plainly ſhew, ſending preſently after to the Camp at *Sanſay*, and offering to joyn with thoſe Frenchmen, who had taken arms to oppoſe the Kings marriage. And not onely this, but they eſtabliſhed in each Province of *France*, a Councel of their own to hear Affairs, and to take notice, what the Order and Government of the Country was; yea, and importunately urged to have Counſellors in the Parliament at *Paris*. Laſtly, to ſhew in one *Act*, as in a Mirror, the

the height of their Presumption and Treason, in the year 1621. at *Rochel*, out of their own onely authority and arrogance, they divide the Provinces of *France* into Seven Synods, which they call Circles, adding *Bearn* for the Eighth. And having formerly resolved to have War with the King, and to make good their actings by force of Arms; in this Assembly now they make Orders for the Government of their Army; they chuse a General and Officers for every Circle, (which what other thing was it, but to Cantonize *France?*) They *Art.* 35. Decree, That no Treaty, nor Truce should be made without this Assembly. They Order, That this pretended General Assembly of theirs, in respect of the great charge, which they must necessarily undergo, should arrest all the Kings Rents, and Money due for Tails, Ayds, Gabels, *&c.* They appoint Officers for collecting the same. *Art.* 36. They order the seizing and letting to Farm of all Goods Ec-

cleſiaſtical, and profits of Churches, Revenues of Parſonages, *&c. Art.* 41. They take the ſame order for all the profits of the Admiralty. And when all was done, the Articles are every one of them ſigned by their Preſident *Combart* very ſolemnly; yea, as foul as their fault was, and beyond all colour of excuſe; yet there is nothing pretended in the buſineſs, but Juſtice and Loyalty, and His Majeſties ſervice: All is covered with that falſe mantle of Religion, and *Publike good*. But wiſely, and truly, was it long ſince obſerved by the Orator, *Tully.* *Totius injuſtitiæ nulla capitalior, &c. Of all injuſtice, ſaith he, none is more odious and abominable, then where men act their villanies under a vizard, and pretence of good.*

17. I for my part ſhall not inſiſt much here upon the opinion of the *Civilians*, what a *Secti* is, what meetings of people are juſtly called *Conventicles*, and declared to be againſt the Prince, and the ancient Laws; nor how *Faction* and *Conſpiracy*

spiracy are defined by the Lawyers, and when they fall within the compass of Treason; as conceiving it matter, though not altogether impertinent to my subject, yet something more then I have undertaken. For this therefore, I refer you to *Farinacius*, Part. 4. to *Decius*, Lib. 7. c. 7, 20. to *Bossius*, to *Gigas*, and others, who can with greater authority resolve you. I shall onely alledge the Municipal and Common Laws of *France* in such cases, which heretofore have used to be a rule, and bridle of Justice, and to be able to keep men in aw. In the year therefore 1477. this Decree or Law was made by *Lewis* the Eleventh, King of *France*; *viz.* All Treaties against the Kings Person, or his Estate, or against the Realm, are declared to be Treason: Which was revived, or a new Law enacted to the same purpose and effect, by *Charls* the Eighth, in the year 1487. and in the year 1532. by *Francis* the First; in the year 1560. by *Francis* the Second at *Fontainbleau*;

and by *Henry* the Second, in the year 1556. All men were forbidden to bear Arms, or to hold any particular Intelligences, Councels, or Assemblies for Conference, but in Town houses, or publike places. By *Henry* the Third, at *Bloys*, in the year 1579. prohibition was made against the assembling or gathering of any Troops, upon occasion or pretence of private quarrels; or to enter into any such kinde of Association. It was also Enacted, That to hold intelligence, to make Leagues offensive, or to have participation with such, either within or without *France*; to levy Soldiers without the Kings License, should be judged and deemed High Treason, and offenders herein to be holden as disturbers of the State. All which Laws are set down in the *Code* of *Henry* the Third, Printed at *Paris*, 1597. And all the Lawyers of *France* affirm the same; *viz. Francis Rogueau des droicts Royaux.* Bodin *de Repub. Le grand Coustumier*, and others. And surely with

with great reaſon: For, as without Order there can be no Peace, ſo without Juſtice no Society. And *Calviniſts* in this reſpect, differ not at all from the worſt of *Anabaptiſts*, if they refuſe ſubmiſſion to the Superior Magiſtrate, and to the Law. Magiſtrates, as King *Joſaphat* ſaith, 2. *Paralip.* 19. *Non hominis, ſed Dei exercent judicium*; *Do execute the judgement, not of man, but of God.* And verily it cannot be denied, but that this ſeditious Sect and Doctrine of *Calviniſm* hath caſt the State of *France* into a very deſperate diſeaſe, under which it laboreth at preſent, and ſuch as may ſeem to require more then an *Æſculapius*, to give it perfect cure. For as much as neither the Majeſty of their King, nor the Forces of his Armies, nor the Wiſdom of his Councel, and Parliaments, nor the Authority of the Eſtates ſo often aſſembled, nor the Obedience due to Juſtice, nor their own Peace and Safety, together with that of the whole Kingdom, can move a few deſperate Out-

Laws, ſheltring in *Montauban*, and *Rochel*, to yeild up themſelves and their Arms to the King, and to ſeek from His Royal Grace and Favor that Peace which all other his dutiful Subjects, even of their own Tribe and Profeſſion elſwhere, do ſecurely enjoy.

Titulus

Titulus Tertius.

KNOXISM:

OR

The Troubles in SCOTLAND.

BUt perhaps this Fiery Zeal of the Rabbins of *Genevah*, if it were transplanted into some colder Climate; as for example, into *Scotland*, it would cool somewhat, and be found of a better temper. Not one jot better. *Calum, non animum, mutant:* It is to change air onely, not complexion. Their *spirits*, that come from thence, are too much *fixed* upon mischeif, to be easily *dispersed*; much less to be *sublimated* unto true goodness and vertue. As experience hath shewn, in 1.

in the example of an infamous Empirick ſent from *Geneva* thither, whoſe practices have inflamed the whole Body of that Kingdom, and filled it with ſo much irregular Zeal, and abundance of ill Humors, as thereby hath grown a Pleuriſie of Troubles in that State, which hath coſt much blood, and is not perfectly cured to this day. The Authors of the Tumults and Alterations in *Scotland*, with the Actors alſo, were as violent as Whirlwinds; they blew down all that ſtood in their way, even Royalty and the Crown it ſelf. *John Knox*, *Goodman*, *Gilby*, and *Buchanan*, were the principal Inſtruments of the Work, and emiſſaries of Maſter *Calvin*; yet bravely ſeconded by Maſter *David Fergerſſon* (a Learned Shoemaker, but Miniſter at *Dundee*,) by Maſter *Coverdale*, *Willox*, *Row*, *Harriot*, and *Montgomery*. *Victrix Legio*, a man may well ſay, *Et Novatores ſtrenui*. Men of invincible obſtinacy in their way, and as perfect Innovators, as could be deſired. All of them Miniſters,

Ministers, and of such *Salt-peter Spirits*, as were fit to blow up, and put into Combustion any Nation in the World. By these was the Church of *Scotland* Reformed, according to the Standard of *Genevah*, and the Platform of those Elders. *Knox* was their *Nehemia*'s, but far unlike him, both in proceedings and qualities; yet he pretended to act his part: How properly and piously his Countryman will best inform you, who wrote of his vertues. *Buchanan* was ever a rude and slovenly *Swiss*, of a presumptuous audacity, and by nature factious. He was one of them, that in the time of *James* the Fifth, at *Edinburgh*, did solemnly in *Lent* eat the Paschal Lamb; and being convicted of that *Judaism* (a business which the King himself examined) his Companions were condemned and burnt for the Heresie; but he himself escaped, and fled over into other Countreys, as a man reserved to be a scourge to his own. But to discern their spirits cleerly, and to judge

Langius vitâ *Joh. Knoxi.*

judge of their *peaceableneſs, patience, ſanctity, &c.* which yet they ſo much pretended, we muſt firſt read their Theorems, and by the Maxims of their Doctrine, we ſhall finde them *Doctors extraordinary* indeed, and ſuch as were ſcarce to be matched again in the whole World, for the buſineſs which they came about.

2. I ſhall begin with *Knox* firſt, who in his Book to the Nobility and people of *Scotland*, inſtructs them thus in the point we treat of, *viz.* Of obedience to Princes, and Loyalty, *Neque promiſſum, neque juramentum obligare poteſt, &c.* Neither promiſe, ſaith he, *nor oath can oblige any man to obey, or give aſſiſtance unto Tyrants, againſt God.* It is true; no man ſaith that they can, when the Tyrant expreſly *commandeth*, that which God expreſly *forbiddeth*; but that is not the caſe: All the World knoweth, in the ſence of *Knox* and *Genevah* there is much pretended to be *againſt God*, which is not at all *forbidden by God.* And when a Chriſtian Prince *commands* nothing, but

but what his Office and the Laws of his Kingdom do require him to *command*, certainly we may not ſo haſtily preſume it to be *againſt God*; ſome better Authority muſt declare it to be ſo, then the bare opinion of a *Knox*, or a *Buchanan*. So in his Hiſtory of *Scotland*, *Princes*, ſaith he, *may be depoſed by the people, if they be Tyrants againſt God and his Truth; and their Subjects are free from their Oaths and Obedience.* Secondly, *Goodman* his Companion and Fellow *Boutefeu* ſings to the ſame tune out of *Exodus*, in a Book which teacheth any thing, more then what the title promiſeth. *Toti populo hoc onus incumbit, &c. This is a duty*, ſaith he, *which lieth upon all the people in general, to ſee that Idolaters be puniſhed, whoſoever, or how great ſoever they be, none muſt be excepted, neither King, nor Queen, nor the Emperor himſelf.* This is his Homily; *If Governors fall from God* (and ſtill we muſt remember, what it is *to fall from God* in his ſenſe) *ad furcas abripiunt,* away

Goodm. de obedientiâ.

away with them, God requires it of the people, that they fall upon them, and *Hang them up instantly.* Most excellent Consistorian Doctrine verily! such Spirits, and such Preachers deserve the countenance of the State. Neither is *Buchanan* much behinde in such grave and wholesome Counsels. For first he tels you, *that the people is above the King, and of greater Authority then he.* If he means this of the *people Collectively taken,* and Legally represented; albeit it were true, yet is it not any way pertinent to his purpose; for never did he, nor any of his reforming brethren beyond the Seas, act any thing by the Authority of the people in that sense: if he means, as he must do, of *the people dispersedly,* and rising, in tumults heer and there of their own heads, it is apparently seditious, and destructive of all Governments whatsoever. After he hath said this, and that *the people may bestow the Crown at their pleasure* (notwithstanding that the Law ordereth the descent

Buchan. *de jure regn. apud Scotos.* p. 61.

ſcent thereof in a particular and certain ſucceſſion) he falls at laſt into a Dialogue worth your obſerving. *They hold*, ſaith he, meaning Royalliſts, *that Kings muſt be obeyed good or bad. It is blaſphemy to affirm that*, ſaith Buchanan. But, *God placeth often times evil Kings*, ſay the Royalliſts: *So doth he oft private men to kill them*, ſaies Buchanan. But *in* 1 Tim. *we are commanded to pray for Princes*, ſay they. *So are we commanded to pray for Theeves*, ſaith he. But ſay the Royalliſts, *S.* Paul *commands obedience to Princes. Saint* Paul *wrote ſo*, ſaith Buchanan, *in the infancy of the Church; if he lived now, he would write otherwiſe.* It hath been ſaid, that *nullum magnum ingenium ſine aliquâ mixturâ inſaniæ*, Theſe great high-ſoaring wits have commonly ſome tincture of frenzy following them. *Buchanan* in his time was counted for ſuch, a great wit; but queſtionleſs had he been perfectly ſound, he could never have let ſlip ſuch a Hyſteron-proteron, as this is, from his Pen; he would

would never have set the Cart thus before the Horse, the people above the King, arming them to kill their Princes, under any undeclared, unjudged pretense of Tyranny; For when such a thing is done without justice and publick order, what can be more impious and abominable? yet *Knox* not onely justifieth it, but could be content, *there were publike rewards appointed for such Assassinates*, and Murderers of Tyrants, as he calls them, *which there are for such as kill Wolves*. So far doth the zeal and light of their new Gospel carry them. The sword of *Gideon* is now in their hands, and all are *Midianites*, *Moabites*, and Enemies of God that stand in their way. But I pray thee good Reader what is Anarchy, Sedition, Treason, if this be order or good government?

Histor. of *Scotland.* p. 372.

3. I shall not need to trouble you further with instances of Doctrine: The book of *Dangerous positions, &c.* gives a general Sentence, that *such Divinity as this, is not holden by* Knox *and* Buchanan *alone*, but *generally*,

saith

saith he, *for ought I can perceive by the chief Consistorians beyond the Seas.* He means the Presbyterian Divines, *Calvin*, *Beza*, and the rest of their Gang; whose opinions have been but too much reverenced here in *England*, since the year 1570. and it would be very unhappy, that such shops of sedition, as their Consistories be, should be ever set up, or opened: here *Whittingham* in his Preface to *Goodmans* Book *of Obedience*, testifieth from *Genevah*, that it had been allowed, and much commended by the chief Divines of that place. *Calvin* himself *Epist.* 105. to *Knox* doth applaud his practices, and encourage him to proceed. *Buchanans* works pass'd for a long time as currant in *Scotland*, as if they had been Printed *Cum privilegio*; till the King at last found it necessary to prohibite them. So we see, it was not *Goodman* alone, nor *Knox* alone, but the whole Congregation of Presbyterians, that defended such dangerous Paradoxes; and not in one Country, but generally

fally where they were admitted; not lately or newly, but originally and from the beginning of their sect. Yea their *Genevah* Bibles pretend to prove it from 2 *Chron.* 15. 16. where they allow the deposing of Queen *Maacha*, by her son King *Asa*, for Idolatry. But it is an example, which by no violence they can use, will be fitted to their purpose. For first it was done, not by private persons, but by *Asa* the King. Secondly, not by *the King alone*, but with the full consent, yea, Covenant of all the people. *V.* 13. and not contrary, but according to the express Law, *Deut.* 13. 9. What is this to private persons, or the people tumultuously runing together against their Princes, and killing them not only without any publike order or authority acknowledged, but even contrary to the Laws established, and while the Princes themselves are doing nothing, but what the Laws established and their Office oblige them to do? Such practises as these are not allowed at *Doway*; nor are there

Mark that.

there any such notes to be found in the Rhemists Testament. The Bishop of *Ross* chargeth them, but *Knox* especially, that in his Sermons he bitterly inveighed against the Nobility, *Quod Jesabelem illam ex medio non sustalerunt, &c.* because they were slow in removing that *Jezabel* (so he calls the Queen Regent of *Scotland*) *either from the Government, or out of the World:* For it is not certain, which he meaneth, and the phrase, as his Spirit, inclines to the worse. And therefore, because the Nobility, as it seems, would make no more haste, they begin the Reformation themselves, *viz.* He and thirty more of his company; first of all, by surprizing the Castle of Saint *Andrews*, and murdering of the Cardinal *Betun.* This was in the year 1546. The Queen hereupon summoning him to appear, and answer for such outrages, he refused; she proclaims him Traytor, he contemns her Proclamation; and having secured himself at Saint *Johnstons* from any danger

Lesleus Hist. lib. 10.

danger of apprehenſion by the Queens Officers, who ſought him, he was ſo far from relenting, or ſhewing any reſpect to the Queen Regent, that at the ſame time he perſwades the Burgeſſes of the place, *viz.* Saint *Johnſtons*, and of *Dundee*, to ſuppreſs the Frieries, to pull down Images in the Churches, and overthrow the Abbeys of Stone, and Saint *Andrews*: Which they did, keeping Forces in the Field two moneths together, taking the Coyning Irons into their cuſtody, and proceeded ſo uncontroulably, and without reſiſtance in their diſordrous courſes, that it even brake the heart of that Noble and Religious Queen Regent to ſee it. After whoſe death, in the year 1560. (the Queen being then in *France*) by the inſtigation and procurement of *Knox*, it was enacted, as a Law perpetual and fundamental in the State, *That Catholike Religion ſhould be aboliſhed*, and that whoſoever defended the Popes Authority in *Scotland*, ſhould be baniſhed,

baniſhed, and that all former *Acts to the contrary ſhould be repealed.* This was pretended to be done *by the three Eſtates*; but the Queens Commiſſion could not be ſhewn, nor any conſent of hers to confirm ſuch Acts; beſide the oppoſition which the Clergy or State Eccleſiaſtical generally made againſt ſuch proceedings, not onely in the Parliament or Convention of States, where they happened to be overborn, but all the Kingdom over. Therefore to make that ſeem good by a colour of Law, which was at firſt begun by meer Faction and Violence, ſome years after; *viz. Anno* 1567. and after the depoſition, or rather unjuſt and forced Reſignation of their lawful Sovereign the Queen, they procure an other Parliament to be called (the Earl *Murray* being then Regent, and the King ſcarce out of his Cradle) which confirms the Acts of the Parliament, 1560. and preſcribes an oath to be taken by all ſucceeding Kings, to maintain the Religion then

See *Jo. Leſlaus* hiſt. of *Scotland.*

Cap. 9.

then received (to which as yet no King had ever consented) and establisheth the Confession of that Church. The Queen provoked with their many and insufferable indignities, had, before this time, sent for some *French* Forces into *Scotland* to oppose them: But this they take so ill, and the Preachers of new Doctrine in all parts of the Kingdom, improve the occasion so much to her disadvantage, and to the further incensing of the people, that at last, they not onely make shift to exclude her from all Government, putting her in condition of a private person, but dishonor her beside with most capital and criminous Accusations; yea; and cast her into prison, not without great danger of her life. *Beza* (that *Tibullus* of *Genevah*) instigating and encouraging them much thereunto, who is pleased in his Reformed Zeal and Eloquence to call her *Medea*, *Athaliah*, and what not? *Nullum ejus sceleribus nomen*, &c. The Good Man, it seems, could not finde

words

words bad enough to expreſs her guiltineſs; and yet how well is it known, he had ſtore of them always at command; and how maliciouſly he pleaded againſt her, while ſhe was priſoner in *England*, onely out of hatred to the Houſe of *Lorrain*, appears abundantly in his Book called *Reveille-Matin*.

I confeſs, generally 'tis better to bury old quarrels, then to renew their memory; yet to juſtifie the Innocent, and to detect perfectly the evil practiſes of theſe men, I cannot forbear to inſiſt a while on this Subject, and to declare more particularly, what inducements they pretended, for ſuch exorbitant courſes. They accuſed the Queen of procuring the death of her Husband, the Lord *Henry Darley*, out of a deſire and intention to marry *Bothwel*, who was principal in the murther. Therefore ſay they, for zeal to Juſtice, for the Honor of the Realm, and ſatisfaction to Forreign Nations, it is neceſſary, that ſhe be under re- 4.

straint, til she cleer her self from the imputation of such heinous crimes. These were their Accusations and pretenses. But touching the Murther it was very unlike to be true; and certainly required manifest proofs, if ever any cause did. Her Sex was not fit for such a Butchery; and her nature known to be too Royal, to harbor such dishonorable Treachery: though she had some just cause of offence against him. If she had desired to put him to death, he was her Subject, and she might have done it openly, legally, and by course of Justice. He had been of the Confederacy for the killing of *David Rizo* her Secretary; his own Dagger was found in his Body. The Earl *Morton* beeing fled into *England* upon that offence, he presumed to revoke him, and call him home without the Queens knowledge or allowance. Neither was he Loyal to the Queen, in respect of Conjugal affection and duty; his offensiveness in that kinde was very

very notorious and scandalous to all the Court, and occasion of much disquiet and difference betwixt the Queen and him; and from whence their common Adversaries took advantage, in a short time, to ruin them both: What then is the proof of such a crime? what evidence bring they to convince her guilty of the Fact? First they object, that *Douglas*, Earl *Bothwel*'s man, was executed for it. True. And that it was he, that brought a Box of Letters of the Queens to *Bothwel*, which he had received of Sir *James Balfoor* at *Edenburgh* to carry to his Master; by which Letters intercepted, their juglings and practises (*viz.* of the Queen and *Bothwel*) were discovered. It is answered, Lyes have commonly one Leg short; and so 'tis here. For is it probable, that either the Queen, or the Earl should repose such confidence, and so great secrets in a man, that was known to be at the devotion of a contrary Faction, as Sir *James Balfoor* was? Is it likely

ſhe would at all ſend ſuch a Packet, which ſhe knew contained matter of great Peril, but of no conſequence at all to her ſelf? For ſhe directs them to be burnt, and might have done that her ſelf well enough without the labor of ſending them to him. Beſide, the Queen ever denied thoſe Letters to be hers, though her hand had been counterfeited to them; neither was there Superſcription, Indorſement, Seal, Date, or any thing elſe, that might poſſibly diſcover more cleerly, whoſe they were, or from whom coming. Her hand was onely Subſcribed, the Letters themſelves of another Character; and truly it is not probable, that in a buſineſs of ſo great privacy, ſhe ſhould require the State of a Secretary, and that of ſome Stranger too? for had it been the hand of any of her ordinary *Amanuenſes*, the caſe had been cleer, and a diſcovery would have been eaſily made. Neither could he, who delivered them, ever be found out to diſcover the Pack; and

and *Douglas*, who was the man accused to carry them, protested at his death, that he never knew of any such Letters. Lastly, supposing that she had indeed sent them, yet was there no expres proof of any unlawful act, attempt, or practise to charge her with. Suppose she had desired to have her husband murthered: doubtless it had been a great offence against God, and odious to all men; but was it a sufficient cause for her own Subjects to take Arms against her, and to depose her? Was not *David* in a like case, in the business of *Uriah* and *Bathsheba*? Yet he forfeited not his Crown. Saint *John Baptist* reproved *Herod* for his Adultery, yet did neither exhort nor counsel the people to deprive him of his Dignity, though he were both a stranger of *Idumea*, and an usurper. *Edward* the fourth of *England* was not deposed for keeping another mans Wife, though he committed a great sin; Nor *Henry* eighth for cutting off the Heads of

so many of his own Wives, and committing as great sins, *Spectante populo*, in the view of his Kingdom and of all the world. Surely these *Bouteseux*, while they presume to punish their Kings for sin, without any good authority or proof, do precipitate themselves unhappily into far greater. Zeal in them is like a Sword in a mad mans hand, dangerous to himself and others. But to the matter; What other probabilities did they produce against her? Many. She mourned faintly for his death, which is a sign, she was weary of his life. She acquitted *Bothwel* for his death, and did not punish him, as she deserved. *Ergo*, let her die. But what a *Non-sequitur* is this *Buchanan*? are such conjectural presumptions, as these, matter of evidence sufficient to depose Princes? As for her Mourning and the Funerals, His Body was Embalmed, and laid by *James* the fifth her Father, the Lord *Tracquaire*, Justice *Clerk* and others attended the Corps; indeed most of

of the Counsel being Protestants, the Catholike Ceremonies were not permitted: and in *Scotland* it is not the custom to reserve the Corps Fourty days. Nor was it decent, that the Queen her self should have been there personally mourning, as a Subject: therefore she mourned privatly, as his Sovereign and Wife; which she did so long, that her Counsel, and Physitians both were forced to dissuade her from it, and to cease. All which Sir *Henry Killegrew* might witness, who was sent from *England* to condole and comfort her. What could be required more of a Wife?

But as concerning Earl *Bothwel* and the Marriage following, herein the jugling of *Murray* and his faction was most admirable, and worthy to be known. For First, was not *Bothwel* acquitted for this crime by his Peers? was not *Murray* himself, (who best knew the Plot) together with the Lord *Lindsey*, *Semple*, and other adherents, principal to pro- 5.

cure his purgation? The Queen did not acquit him out of her own affection, or will onely, but by their advice and Counsel, who were the chief *Pilots* of the State, at that time. Nay, did not the same parties *Murray*, *Sempil*, &c. procure others of the Nobles to joyn with them, and sollicited the Queen to Marry *Bothwel*, pretending it necessary for her to take such a Husband, to defend her in troublesome times; yea did they not in some maner force her to it? and by their Hand-writing to *Bothwel*, did they not binde themselves to obey him, in case he would marry her? did not they themselves, *viz.* *Murray*, *Sempil* and the rest, (in order to this) procure the Divorce of *Bothwel* from his first Wife, sister to the Earl of *Huntly*? and are thereby most cleerly convinced of double dealing? But what follows? The charg of the Murther. And of this *the Lord* Harris *accused* Murray *himself*, *viz.* that at *Craigmillar*, he, *Morton*, and *Bothwel* did consult, conspire, and determine the Kings

Kings death; for the effecting whereof Indentures were there drawn and ſubſcribed by them. And to convince it more evidently, *Pourry*, *Paris*, and *Hay*, who were all three Executed for the Murther, confeſſed at their death, and called God to witneſs, that thoſe two (*Murray* and *Morton*) were the principal contrivers of it. The like did *John Hepburn*, *Bothwels* ſervant, at his Execution for the ſame Fact; proteſting that he had ſeen the Articles and Writings drawn to that purpoſe, as we ſaid. To blinde the world therefore a little, *Murray* and *Morton* take up Arms upon a pretence to apprehend *Bothwel*, and ſend out ſhips to purſue him at Sea, whom themſelves had ſent away; yea had ſent the Lord *Grange* on purpoſe to him, to adviſe and will him for his own ſafety, to be gone, promiſing, that no body ſhould purſue him: as indeed none did very haſtily: for he ſtayed after this no leſs then two Months in *Scotland*, *viz.* until *Murray* was re-

turned out of *France*. Then of neceſſity he muſt be gone; otherwiſe by his ſtay, or their taking him, they would be all betrayed themſelves; So he finding himſelf overreach't by his Aſſociates in the Conſpiracy, and being as ſure to be overpowered by them, if he ſhould abide it, was content at laſt to withdraw, and be offered up as a Sacrifice to the cenſure of the world for their purgation. This therefore was the Texture and ſum of the Plot concerning the death of the Lord *Darley* Husband to the Queen, and the Queens Marriage of *Bothwel*. Theſe two Catilines (*Murray* who was the Queens baſe Brother, and *Morton*) cauſed the King to be ſlain, uſing *Bothwels* conſent and aſſiſtance in it; which *Bothwel* they perſwade afterward to Marry the Queen, and deal as effectually with the Queen, that ſhe ſhould be willing to Marry *Bothwel*: and this on purpoſe, that they might have ground hereby to ruin them both, and poſſeſs themſelves of the government;

vernment; as in a short time they did, upon a colourable, though feigned, accusation brought against them, *viz.* against the Queen and *Bothwel*, as conspiratours and contrivers of the Kings death. 'Tis well known, the Earl *Murray* never truly loved the Lord *Darley*. He was once in Arms and in the field to have kild him; and thereupon fled into *England*. After this he perswaded the Lord *Darley* to give his consent to the Murthering of *David Rizu* the Queens Secretary; in which action a Pistol was also set to the Queens belly, being then great with Childe, to terrifie her, and, if it could have been, to procure her Miscarrying: but the Lord *Darley*, having obtained the Queens pardon for this, yet fearing left *Murray* should inform Her Majestie concerning him, further then he liked, he resolves with himself to kill *Murray*; but first, out of I know not what reason, discovers his intention to the Queen, whom he supposed to be very much incensed

incenſed againſt *Murray*; but ſhe utterly diſliked the buſineſs, and would not endure him to ſpeak of it; which coming afterwards to *Murrays* knowledge, as he had before practiſd to eſtrang the Queen from her Husband, and offered to procure her a Divorce from him, (which ſhe alſo utterly condemned,) ſo now he reſolves to make away him *viz.* the Lord *Darley*, and to that end Plots with the Earls *Morton* and *Bothwel*, as hath been ſaid, yet himſelf cunningly, to divert ſuſpicion, and that he might be thought abſolutely innocent in the buſineſs, when as now all things were agreed upon, withdraws himſelf, from the Court firſt, and then goes into *France*, a little before the Murther was committed. All which paſſages, being indeed the moſt intricate maze of Treachery (one of them) that ever was deviſed by wicked men, were made to appear plain enough unto Queen *Elizabeths* Commiſſioners at *York*, as is manifeſt by Sir *Ralph Sadlers*

Sadlers Notes concerning that buſineſs, which I have ſeen; but afterward more cleer then the Sun, at the Tryal and Execution of the Earl *Morton*. For *Murray* had met with vengeance before, having been Piſtolled by a man of his own profeſſion, as he rode in the Street at *Edinburgh*, about the year 1570. Surius. *Chron.*

6. Yet upon ſuch falſe and treacherous Foundations as theſe, do they ground all their diſloyal proceedings and hard uſage of the Queens Majeſtie their natural Sovereign afterward, *viz.* That which they uſed towards her at *Carbery hill*, their ſlanderous Libels, their impriſoning her at *Lough-Levin*; and their Act of Parliament for her depoſition, as appeareth by the words of the Statute. Laſtly the reſignation of her Crown; which yet they ſtoutly affirmed at *York*, to have been voluntary and of her own ſeeking. But whether it were ſo or no, their courſe of proceeding will beſt manifeſt. For firſt, themſelves had drawn up the form of Re-

Resignation, before she understood any thing of it. Then *Atbol*, *Liddington* and the rest send Sir *Robert Melvin* to her, to signifie from them the great danger she was in; and to perswade her to yeeld to their Motion touching her Resignation: yea they alledged, as out of duty and wellwishing to her, as they said, that in case the condition of affairs should change, what she should do now, could not be any prejudice to her, *being it was extorted*. Sir *Nicholas Throcmorton* was about this time arrived in *Scotland* from the Queen of *England*; upon other pretenses indeed, but a most fit man to further such a work: which he did, so like a cunning Artificer, that what wind soever blew him thither, he deserved well at his return to have been created Lord *Hurly*. At last comes the Lord *Lindsey* (one whose hands had been formerly washed in the Secretaries blood,) with a Commission from the Counsel to the Queen, and with stern looks tenderd the writings

tings of Resignation to her, threatning fearfully, in case she should refuse to sign them. Whereupon she subscribed, being prisoner; and to save her life, lost her Crown. Was this a Free Resignation, think you? Their Act of Parliament indeed calls it so, but the world will judge. Beside this they make her give power to the Lords, *Lindsey* and *Ruthen* (*as her dearest Friends*) to renounce the government in her name, and to appoint *Murray* Regent, which was the thing he had long & earnestly gaped for: when this was done, and she was now become, as it were, a private person, they decree, *Chap.* 12. that she shall remain prisoner until her Tryal. And *Chap.* 19. They draw up her Indictment most scandalously and falsly. Among the causes they pretend of her Resignation, they say first, That *she was weary of the Government*. But, their Tyrannous and Disloyal proceedings had made her so, if she were. Secondly, That *she was not able in Body and Spirit to endure the pains.*

pains. She was in the flower of her age, and a Princeſs of no mean Vivacity, quickneſs, and Magnanimity of Spirit, as they themſelves and the world knew. And thirdly that ſhe might in her life time, *ſee her Son ſetled in the government*. She would gladly have ſeen him firſt of age to govern himſelf. This was the direct way to looſe both her Son and her ſelf, for ought ſhe could expect or foreſee otherwiſe: But 'tis true, *Domini eſt ſalus, qui evellit de laqueo pedes ſuorum, Salvation is of our Lord, and he deliver-eth the Feet of his people out of the Snare.* For as it happened, the Queen maketh a very ſtrange Eſcape: and at *Hamiltoun*, the houſe of a Noble Family, and at that time well affected, ſhe revoketh all, whatſoever ſhe had done in her impriſonment, Confeſſing and Proteſting that it was all again her Will, and by Force and Violence extorted from her; That no form of legal proceeding had been obſerved in it; That the Noble Earls of *Huntley*, *Argile*, Lord

Lord *Harris* and many others, never consented to it. That in the Parliament, where it was transacted, there was not above Four Earls, Six Lords, One Bishop, and Three Abbots. With such manifest partiality, and dislike of the greater and better part of the Kingdom was the business carried!

I would tell you some other, no mean inducements, occasions, motives, which perswaded the se Heads of the *Scottish Nation*, to cast themselves into such a Gulf of disloyalty against their natural Sovereign, as they must needs either perish themselves, or run the whole State of the Kingdom upon a Rock, and wrack it; but for some reasons I must do it under the Vail of an Apologue; For all things are not to be spoken plainly. 7.

IN Africa *then there were two great Forrests neer adjoyning; In the one a Lyon governed the Beasts, in the other a Lyoness. The Lyon was Rich and full of Prey, yet feared, least his Neighbor*

Neighbor the Lyoness getting her a Forreign Mate, should gather so much strength and courage, as to pick some quarrel with him, and invade his Forest. Wherefore calling a Counsel of his Beasts, he consulted with them, how they might secure themselves of the Lyoness: The Bull, presumptuous of his strength, and used to gore all that came in his way, together with the Boar, and the Bear contemned such vain fears, as not worthy of the Lyons courage: yet the Major part of the other Beasts concurred in opinion with the Lyon, That there was ground of fears and jealousies: which an old Ape perceiving, that had lived long in the Forest, and was used to counterfeit, gave advise presently, that the Lyon should faign kindness, for, saith he, being an old dissembler, Great hearts are soonest won with faire semblance. Neither did Reignard the Fox dislike this Counsel; but knowing that the Lyoness had many hungry Wolves and Wily Foxes about her, advised the Lyon to send the Goat, a grave Bearded personage, to visite the

the Lyoness and renue Freindship: and under colour of such friendly Negotiation, to deal privately with some of the Wolves and Foxes about the Lyoness, and breed in them some fear and apprehensions of her cruelty; yea and if he found them inclinable to such Counsels, to perswade them to stand more upon their own guard, and not to suffer the Lyoness to rule so Arbitrarily, as she did, but rather, if they could, to make themselves a Free State, and to be under no other command, but their own. The Goat performed this service so wisely, that the Mongrel, a Beast much used and very near the person of the Lyoness, upon hearing the Motion, resented it so well, that he undertook to perswade some other of the Counsel. But, saith he, we have some cruel Beasts among us, which favor the Lyoness much, as The Tyger, the Leopard, the Unicorn, &c. if they perceive this, they will oppose us instantly, and make a Party too strong for us. Fear not that, said the Goat, we can spare you a Regiment or two of such Mastiffs, as shall defend

and

and guard you sufficiently: only be sure, that you stand to your business; and when you are once Masters of the Field, there will be Prey and spoile enough. Upon this the Mongrel, the Wolves, and the Foxes, with such other Brutes as adhered to them, lay their Heads together, and never leave consulting and conspiring, till they had entrapped the Lyoness, and drawn her into such a Pit-fal, as she was not able to recover her self, but they seize upon her, disongle her at their pleasure, and put her in ward. Reignard a great Counsellor of the Lyon in the other Forest, and a Contriver of this Treachery, hearing what success it had, and that the Lyoness was secur'd, sends another Messenger to the Mongrel, advising him to make sure of the Lyoness Whelp, and then he might securly rule and govern all: For, saith he, Possession is the chief point in Law: and when you have him, you have all. Perhaps, out of sullenness and restraint, he may die; however, if he lives, he shall be sure to live at your pleasure and disposing, if you take him in time,

so

so he did accordingly. This is the Fable. The Moralizing of it, I leave to those that expound Riddles; though this be such, as needeth not an Oedipus to declare it.

I might here end my discourse of this pretended Church of *Scotland*, and of its irregular and tumultuous Reformation, but that I desire to satisfie the Reader a little further in the true cause of this particular distemper, or more special abuse and contempt of Civil Magistracy, which the Reformers of this Church seem to have shewen all along their work. It proceeded without all doubt from the Spirit and humor of *Calvin*, who first devised it; and was himself a bitter enemy against all Magistrates, in whose Counsels he could not rule: In so much, as at *Genevah* it self, he was at first expelled *for a seditious person* by the Magistrates of that City; and compelled to go live with *Bucer* at *Strasburgh*. Yet afterward, the party, which favored him, prevailing at *Genevah*, he 8.

was

was recalled back again; but refused to return, unless upon condition and promise, that his discipline should be received. So it was promised by a general consent of the City, and at his coming performed; His confistory, that is to say, an Oligarchy of certain pickt Elders, was erected, as it were the Inquisition of *Genevah*. This, by the way, was a strain of policy much beyond *Luthers* dull reach, and which madded him all his life long. For by this *Calvin* did not onely set up a Church Independent of him, and without consulting at all with him, *viz.* with *Luther*, but became a Dictator general, as it were, to all the Protestant or reformed Churches abroad; and so very much Eclipsed *Luthers* glory. But the seat of his Dominion was at *Genevah*, as we said, having settled his discipline in such manner there, that by colour and pretence of it, he was able, not onely to censure offenders at his pleasure, but to carry on designs against any opposition

position whatsoever: For indeed through the concurrence of his Eldership (who were commonly all at his beck) he was upon the matter invested with a kinde of Sovereignety both of their Town and Church: He and his Elders ruled all there. And to the end it should be received abroad with due reverence (though it were indeed the Idol of his own fancy, yet) they set it down (*viz. Calvins* Presbyterian Discipline) for a mark of the True Church, and joyn it in equal rank with the Preaching of the word, and Administration of Sacraments. So that by means of this Discipline he not onely in a short time became himself the great Soldan of the Lake, but sent his Mamalukes also out into all the Provinces of *France*, and planted Reformed Churches there after his Model of *Geneva*: The Sinods or more general Assemblies whereof, seating themselves in the principal and chief Towns of the Kingdom, are thereby inabled to hold such cor-

correſpondence with the Nobility and Gentry of the Nation inclined to novelty, as that they are ſure of a conſtant and ſtrong ſupport from them upon all occaſions; yea to engage them perfectly in their way, they take them many times, very politickly, into their Conſiſtories in the quality of Lay-Elders, and do queſtionleſs nouriſh in themſelves no faint hopes, to be able one day by their means to ſubvert thoſe Pillers of the Catholike Church, which ſo much obſtruct their proceedings, *viz.* the Biſhops, Archbiſhops, and other Prelates of *France*; and to ſet up *Calviniſm* and their Conſiſtories all the Kingdom over. This, I ſay, is the Train of their Policy, and the reaſon, why they are ſo implacable in their hatred, and inceſſantly violent and active againſt all ſuch Princes and States, as do oppoſe the introduction of their Diſcipline; which is the Medium whereby, in *France*, *Scotland*, the *Palatinate* and elſewhere, they have made, or

endeavored

endeavored to make themselves Supream heads and Masters of mistrust over all others: as hath been in part declared already, and shall be further manifested in the sequel of this narration. Hence it is, that all commanders, Generals, and all other Officers whatsoever in their service, are so strictly injoyned by the Articles of *Bearn*, as hath been said, to observe the discipline Ecclesiastical, as it shall be from time to time, ordained by their Synods: And hence, that is to say, from this Arrogant confidence of theirs it was, and indiscreet zeal, that they refused when time was, at *Rochel*, so much as to speak with Monsieur *Byron*, the Kings Embassador; and used Monsieur *la Nove* with so much, and so long incivilities, that at last he was constrained to forsake them. *Art.* 25.

9. And out of this fiery zeal for their Diana of the Discipline it proceeds, that they oppose, prosecute, and vilifie, with so much bitterness of spirit and ill language, where

they can or dare, all other Eccleſiaſtical government whatſoever all Order of Divine Service, Rites and Ceremonies, which are not exactly after their Mode, or framed according to their Pattern. And in this particular the Proteſtants church of *England* hath, from the beginning ſo much taſted of their ſpleen, or madneſs rather, that Mr. *Butler* of *Cambridge* may ſeem to have ſhewen no leſs judgement, then wit, in the definition which he once gave of a Puritan, *viz.* That *he was a Proteſtant frayed out of his Wits*; which King *James* in the Conference at *Hampton Court* diſliked not. The reaſon whereof may be this. We finde by experience, that Ceremonies and Solemnity have ever in the Church of God ſtirred up and bred a reverence and devotion in the hearts of good people towards the ſervice of God; that they help to elevate and awaken their ſouls in time of prayer and other Divine worſhip: alſo that the order, and gravity of

of Bishops and other Prelates of the Church were, not onely wont to finde, but apt to procure estimation and respect with the people. Now ask a Puritan his opinion of a Rochet, a Surplis, cornerd Cap, or any other Habit, which distinguisheth Ecclesiastical persons from the Laity, he tells you presently, They are the raggs of Antichrist, badges of Superstition; The Communion Book he calls the Portess and Breviary of Satan; set prayers extinguish zeal with him, yea are *tantum non* flat Idolatry; The Ecclesiastical Courts are the Synagogues or Shops of the Devil, and but the excrements of a corrupted discipline, which they would fain reform. As for the Authority and Government of Bishops he subscribs to Doctor *Ames*, *Hunc Episcoporum ordinem & medio tollendum, &c. That either this Hierarchy of Bishops must down, or Popery will come upon us, do what we can. Cujus contrarium verum est.* But let that pass. The Clergy of *England* they count

Atheists, call them soldiers of Antichrist, and a Bastardly Ministery. And from the Fountain of this frenzy sprang in late times, all those infamous and scandalous Libels of *Udal*, *Penry*, *Brown*, *Greenwood*, *Martin*, *Marprelate*, *Martin* junior, *Hay any work for a Cooper*, The supplication to the President of *Wales*, and many other to the late Queen, and troublesome to the State. But the spring-head of all was *Calvin* himself, who *Epist.* 105. declares *magis sibi placere, &c. that he* (forsooth) *did rather approve the Scottish Reformation, then that of England.* Gramercy good Sir *John.* You like it better; why? because it was the issue of your own happy Brain: 'tis well known, *Knox* fetcht his Coales from your Fire, and cast his Engin of Reformation in your Mould; and so upon the matter, in commending it, like a wise man, you commend your self. So *Epist.* 26. he tells *Cranmer, relictam esse congeriem, That there was a great heap of Popish superstitions*

ſtitions yet remaining in the Church of England, *which did not onely dim, but even much darken, and corrupt the purity of Gods worſhip.* Hence it was, that during all Queen *Maries* Reign, The *Engliſh* Church at *Genevah*, as they calld themſelves, was Antagoniſt, and at defiance with the Engliſh Church at *Franckfort*: for they at *Franckfort* defended the Authority of Biſhops, and uſed the Leiturgy and Ceremonies which were commanded by King *Edward* the ſixth; notwithſtanding Mr. *Calvin*, writing to the Protector, by whoſe Authority they had been eſtabliſhed, was ſo modeſt, as to call them ſcoffingly and by way of contempt, *Tolerabiles Ineptias, certain fooleries*, but yet ſuch, as *might be born withal* for a time.

It is therefore we ſe, no Hyperbolical charge or Calumny, to ſay that this *Presbyterian Diſcipline* is the *Palladium* of *Calviniſts*, for which they do not onely contend but fight, *tanquam pro aris & focis*, a- 10.

gainst all Kings and Princes that oppose it, more eagerly and bitterly, then for any other thing: which no man will deny, that knowes, what their proceedings have been, & are in *France*, *Scotland*, *Low-countries*, *Bohemia* and elsewhere; or that hath read *Bsialicon Doron*, written by a Pen, that had cause enough to be sensible of their disorders; or that Book of *Philippus Nicolai*, which is ful of predictions of what lawless attempts and practises they would serve themselves to advance their consistory above the court, which have not all prov'd untrue: or lastly that of *Joannes Schutz* a learned *Lutheran*, who tells them plainly that *they trust onely upon their Sæculur power*, *That they are seditious people*, *and defend their opinions best with a Sword in their hand.* But that which King *James* himself saith of them, is most remarkable *Ego a Puritanis*, &c. *I*, saith he, *have been vexed with these Puritans from my very Birth*, *yea they persecuted me*, *while I was yet in my Mothers Belly*

De regno. Xti.

Lib. 50. *caus.*

Prefat. monitor.

Belly, and it mist but little, that they had not murdered me, before I was born. Among which Pranks that of the Ministers at *Sterling* must not be forgotten; who appeared themselves in the field, under the Command of some of the Nobility of that faction, and forced the King to yeeld his person to them, and to suffer a new guard to be put upon him, and his old removed. For which insolent attempt the chief of them, *viz.* Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, *Pollard*, *Carmichel*, and *Andrew Melvin* were glad afterwards to take covert in *England*: yet *James Gibson* stood to it, and called the King *Jeroboam* and persecutor; *Lawson* opposed and affronted him to his face: *Pont* and *Balcanqual* by open Proclamation and in the presence of a publike Notary, censur'd him very formally, and did what they could to withdraw the peoples Loyalty and affection from him. When *Philautia and Phantasia*, that is, self-love and self-conceit do meet in Conjunction in the

Brain, there must needs be a great Eclipse of the understanding; and a Heart swollen and blown up with singularity doth so far contemn, yea hate, whatsoever opposition is made against her, that being not able to govern the strong passion, and those fervors of a proud spirit which boyl incessantly within her, Men run like so many furies, upon rash and inconsiderate attempts, both against the reverence due to Majestie, Justice, and all good government. A thing manifestly observable in these *Zelots*. And therefore the *Zuinglians*, who are (otherwise) more then their half Brethren, can scarcely approve them in the point of the Consistory. For saith *Gualter* Minister of *Zurich*, *Galli habent sua seniorum Concilia, &c. The Reformed French*, saith he, *have their Consistories of Elders, in whose hands all power and authority Ecclesiastical is, as it were, deposited; and in These all counsels and resolutions are taken, all Taxes and impositions layd for the maintaining*

Comment in 1 Cor. c. 5.

maintaining of War against the King. Proper work doubtless for the Ministers of Gods word, as they will be called, and for a Spiritual Court, as it pretends to be, and to as good a purpose. *Musculus* also sheweth as little esteem of them, in his *Loci. Commun.* cap. 10. But above all *Schultingius* in his *Hierarchica Anachresis* doth most graphically and to the life discover thei exorbitant and absurd practises, *shewing how all Kings, Princes, and Governors are made subject to their Excommunications, that truly* Brutum Fulmen, *of their elderships. How Nobility and Commons both must assemble at the Summons of the Pastor, who is more then half Pope in his Parish, being attended by Assisting Elders, rather to countenance what he will have done, then to do any thing contrary to his minde. Lastly,* Calvin *at* Genevah *is the Supream Oracle, beyond whom there is no appeal, really* Papa, *though out of a dissembled humility he seems not willing to be called Doctor.* So he.

De *Offic. Ministror.* lib. 15. cap. 19. 20. 22.

And what confusion in the Civil State this Constitution of pretended Discipline may further cause in time, *Hooker* in the Preface to his Books of *Ecclesiastical Policy* sheweth at large.

Titulus

Titulus Quartus.

GEVXISM:

OR

The Troubles in HOLLAND,

AND THE

United Provinces.

BY Course we arrive now at the States of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and those other united Provinces, that is, at an *Aceldama* a Field of blood, where the Principles mentioned so oft already in this Narrative, and the Tragical effects of them have been acted with most lamentable fury and rage for many years together. I will 1.

will not be large in the declaration of them, to ſhew you, how, the *Lutheran* faction firſt began, and how violently the *Calviniſts* ſucceeding did proſecute their work; for then I ſhould weary you. I ſhall labor to be as breif as I may, and rather to *Epitomize* things, then dilate them. Of all their Actions That Union of *Utrecht* was the moſt notorious; a deviſe cleerly according to the rules of *Junius Brutus*, and in imitation of the *Switz* and *Cantons*. This Union was made by the States in the year 1578. For ſeing on the one hand the fortunate Proceedings of the Duke of *Parma*, and on the other the courſe of the *Male-Contents*, they enter a perpetual League; which was comprized in Twenty Articles: In the firſt whereof *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Frize* and *Gelders* joyn *contra omnem vim quæ ſub prætextu, &c.* to maintain one another *againſt all force whatſoever that ſhall be made upon them in the Kings name, or for matter of Religion.* After this,

viz.

viz. in the year 1579. the Prince of *Orange* (who was the contriver and ringleader of all) with those of *Antwerp* and *Gaunt* enter the League, and subscribe on the Fourteenth of *February*: and it was again confirmed at the *Hague* the Twentieth of *July*, 1581. The design in all being to expel their Leige Lord the King of *Spain*, and to deprive him of those Dominions; as presently after they did; publishing an Edict in the name of the States united, with this title or prescription, *Que le Roy d' Espagne est descheu, &c. That the King of* Spain *is fallen from the Dominion of the Low-Countries:* and injoyning an Oath or form of Abjuration to be taken by all the people of those Countries in these words, I W. N. *Sware anew and binde my self to the Provinces united, to be Loyal and Faithful to them, and to Aid them against the King of* Spain *as a true Man of the Country.* Upon this they break all the Kings Seals, pull down his Arms, seize and enter upon

Comme un bon vassal du pais.

upon his Lands, Rents, Cuſtomes, and all Hereditaments whatſoever, taking them into their own poſſeſſion, and as abſolute Lords, they Coyn Money in their own names, they place and diſplace Officers of State, Baniſh the Kings Counſellors, ſeize upon Church livings, ſuppreſs Catholike Religion, beſeidge *Amſterdam*, and do all other acts that might import Supream and abſolute Dominion. And all this with ſo much terror and violence, that, as 'tis reported, *Reald* a Counſellor for *Frizeland*, upon onely hearing of their maner of proceeding, and of the new Oath againſt the King, died ſuddenly therewith, as of an Apoplexy. The reaſons they give, why the King had forfeited his title and right to theſe Countries were theſe. Firſt, *becauſe he labored to ſuppreſs Religion*. They mean *their own*, which they had *newly* taken up contrary to the *old*; and which, had it not been for the oppoſition made againſt it by the Kings Governors in

in the Provinces, had long before this time destroyed *the Kings Religion*, which was legally established, and received by the general consent, approbation, and profession of the whole Country. Secondly, *for oppressing*, that is governing, *them*, not according to the Law, but *by Tyranny*. Thirdly, *for abrogating their priviledges. and holding them in a condition of bondage and servitude*. Such a Prince, say they, we are not bound to obey as a Lawful Magistrate, but to eject as a Tyrant. But this is a President of very dangerous consequence doubtless. For if private Subjects (as at that time they were without dispute,) may depose their Prince meerly upon general Charges, and without having done any one overt Act contrary unto the Laws or the duty of his Office, and may make themselves sole Judges in the cause, of what is right betwixt the Prince and the People, of which they were in no capacity (either formal or virtual, that is representative) more then

then a *Minor* part, *Qui ſtat, videat ne cadat*, there is no Prince, nor State in the world can be ſecure. The *Rochellers* may plead this, as much as the *Hollanders*; and ſo may any diſcontented party under a government which they like not, as well as they.

But it ſhall not be amiſs, to enquire a little further into this buſineſs, and lay open to plain view the grounds, occaſions and conſequences thereof, ſo compendiouſly as we ſhall be able. The original, primary and true cauſe of theſe troubles was the ſpring and growth of hereſie, which by this time was, like a Gangreen, ſpread over the greateſt part of *Germany*, and not the leaſt in theſe *Low-Countries*; where under the ſhadow of religion eſpecially of abetting and promoting *liberty of Conſcience*, as they called it, All factions of State and diſcontentments of Ambitious perſons ſhrowded themſelves. The peoples natural inclination to Novelty was great, and ſet it much forward

forward; yet there wanted not the Concurrence of ſome Forreigners, (to blow the Coals of diſſention) both out of *England* and *France*. *Charls* the Fifth, Emperor, a wiſe and provident Prince, remembringing what a piece of work *Luther* had lately cut him out in Germany, and with what danger, difficulty, and charge he overcame it, intended, as well for the quietneſs of theſe Provinces, as for his own Intereſt and Honor, to prevent, as much as he could, the Propagation of *Martineſts* and all other Sects whatſoever. And to that end, finding no other means more proper, and fit to be applied unto ſuch a *Malady*, had eſtabliſhed the Inquiſition among them, about the yeer 1550. for the Execution whereof *Mary*, Queen of *Hungary*, then Regent of the Low-Countries procured ſuch Explication and Mitigation of ſome Circumſtances, as was judged neceſſary. But after this, the Emperor reſigning the whole government of theſe Provinces

vinces to his Son King *Philip*, retired himself, by a most memorable example, voluntarily from the world, and consecrated the last act of his life entirely to God and devotion. King *Philip* at the first entrance into his government, finding how much the Sects increased daily in *Flanders*, notwithstanding the means opposed against them, and considering what danger would ensue upon it to the State, followed strictly his Fathers advise, and in the year 1555. renewed the Commission, Instructions and Articles for the said Inquisition. But this, as it happened through the general contagion and distemper of mindes, which Heresie had bred in the people, provd onely matter of further discontent to the Inhabitants of the Nether-Lands, and did no good. They alledge, that all Strangers would thereupon be forced to depart the Country, and by consequence their Trading would decay, which was the Golden Mine and maintenance of

of those Provinces. Thus they complained; but indeed their inward grief was the humor of Innovation, to which they were much inclined, and therefore feared themselves. There was another Politick Act of the Kings, yet withall of very religious concernment and design, which added Fewel to this Fire, namely, the Erecting of those new Bishopricks at *Gaunt*, *Ipres*, *Antwerp*, *&c.* which he intended all the Provinces over. And a third, *viz.* the authority and power of the Bishop of *Arras*, whose Cardinals Hat lately procured him by the Kings favor, made him the more odious; so as the greater his Obligation was to his Holiness, or the King their Sovereign, so much more, it seemed, was the malice both of the Nobility and common people incensed against him. Lastly, they urge their Ancient priviledges and liberties which they pretend, were violated by the King; They would have no Strangers rule or bear Office among them; *Floren. vand. Haer de tumult. Belgic.*

The

The *Spaniards* must be dismissed the Country; and some new liberties granted, *viz.* Liberty of Conscience, and Toleration for Religion.

3 Thus were the names of *Liberty and Religion* made the Standard-bearers, as it were, to their future Commotions. But let us consider their several grievances. As concerning the first, that of the Inquisition, the name is of greater Terror then the thing: It was first devised upon a necessity against the *Moors* in *Spain*; and upon experience of the use and benefit thereof, continued. And though I shall not commend any sign, or proceedings, that savor of cruelty, yet I cannot condemn this: because it addeth nothing to the punishment of Heresie, which the Law did not inflict before; but requires onely a more strict Execution of the Law, and a more diligent course of examination to be used by the Inquisitors. And certainly, under God, it hath been the chief Antidote, which hath preserved *Spain* so well and so

so long free from the infection of heresies, and from such dangerous and lasting tumults as do commonly follow them, and wherewith the other Kingdoms of *Europe* have been generally embroyled. The *Spaniards* themselves, when they were most discontented, never complained of it; nor is it in it self a more bloody Law or Execution of Justice, then the Consistory it self at *Genevah* doth maintain, and hath executed more then once, though unjustly and Tyrannically, considering what principles they pretend, and what outcries and obtestations they once made for *Liberty of Conscience*, *Liberty of Prophesying*, *Liberty of the Spirit*, which is their onely *Judge of Controversies*, according to the *written word alone*, and not any Consistory, or company of men whatsoever. Besides, as it was at first propounded by the King, out of his zeal for the good and quiet of the Country, so was it by his wisdom suspended afterwards, finding, they were not capable

capable of such a remedy. For the second, *viz.* the Erecting of the new Bishopricks it was a prudent and necessary resolution to bridle Sectaries, and as a Sythe, to cut down those Weeds, which grew so fast in Gods Church. For by appointing in each Province grave and learned men, to stand as Watchmen and Sentinels against the Enemies of the Church and State, it would be more easie, by concurrence of their Authority, and by their vigilancy over their Flocks, to preserve the people from danger of seducement. Neither was it a new design. For *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy* had long before desired it, as a thing very needful; because in his time all the Seventeen Provinces (except onely the Diocess of *Arras* were under such Bishops, as were strangers to the Country, and Subjects of Forreign Princes; which could not be convenient for the State. And what good their Erection hath wrought, experience daily sheweth, in those places where they

they ſtill continue. For now every Dioceſs is carefully viſited by a Biſhop of the ſame Country and Language; who as he hath more natural compaſſion, ſo hath he alſo more knowledge and care to inſtruct his Countrymen in the way that is right, and to weed out diſorders. And therefore was the Erection allowed, and ratified by *Bull* of *Pius Quartus* in the year 1559. Concerning the third, *viz.* the Cardinal of *Arras*, Although his wiſdom and experience in affairs of government, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil, was ſufficiently known to the King, yet becauſe the Prince of *Orange* with the Counts *Egmond* and *Horn*, did joyntly write to the King againſt him, His Majeſtie, though to his great diſſervice, was content to remove him, for their ſatisfaction. But when this was done, neither was the Country any whit the quieter, for his calling away; nor did they themſelves ceaſe from further practiſing. As for their liber-

ties

ties and franchises, had not the King confirm'd them all at the joyful entry? When did he violat them afterward? was it for preferring *Spaniards*? There were very few of them left in the Country, and of these fewer *tum imperiò*. Was it for the Offices of State? See how the governments were distributed among themselves. Count *Egmond* was Governor of *Flaunders* and *Artois*; The Prince of *Orange*, Governor of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht* and *Burgundy*; Count *Aremberge* was Governor of *West-Frezeland*, and *Over-Issel*; Count *Barlamont* of *Namur*, Count *Mansfeld* of *Luxemberge* and *Clinay*; The Marquis of *Bergben* of *Liste* and *Doway*: So as 'tis not easie to see, how the Nobility could complain justly they were neglected, or not honorably imployed. And yet for addition, and their further assurance of the Kings good affection to them and the Provinces, he left his Sister the Dutchess of *Parma* Governor General with them, a Woman of a very

very peaceable and mild Spirit, and one that was like to hold the bridle of Government with a Gentle hand, and to be adviſed by their Counſels.

In this maner were all things wiſely and moderately conſtituted by the King, and might have ſo continued, had the Nobles complied with their duty, and not favored ſo much thoſe ſpirits of Innovation and Tumult, which lurked up and down the Country, and had infected no ſmall part of the Common people. Howbeit all things remained outwardly quiet for a long while; The fire that was, lay covered in Aſhes: The firſt breaking out was not, til Baron *Brederode* and his Aſſociates preſented their Petition to the Dutcheſs; which containing many things neither fit for them to aske, nor ſafe for her to grant, was, not without reaſon, look't upon as a Prologue to ſome future Troubles. Henceforward the Heads of the Faction plot the advancing of their

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very peaceable and mild Spirit, and one that was like to hold the bridle of Government with a Gentle hand, and to be advised by their Counsels.

In this maner were all things wisely and moderately constituted by the King, and might have so continued, had the Nobles complied with their duty, and not favored so much those spirits of Innovation and Tumult, which lurked up and down the Country, and had infected no small part of the Common people. Howbeit all things remained outwardly quiet for a long while; The fire that was, lay covered in Ashes: The first breaking out was not, til Baron *Brederode* and his Associates presented their Petition to the Dutchess; which containing many things neither fit for them to aske, nor safe for her to grant, was, not without reason, look't upon as a Prologue to some future Troubles. Henceforward the Heads of the Faction plot the advancing of their

party, and begin to ſtrengthen themſelves both at home and abroad. Theſe were, the Earl of *Culembergh*, who had lately married a *Germane* Lady of the *Lutheran* way: *Horn*, who was matched with the Siſter of Count *Harman*: The Prince of *Orange* was already by his Mother allied to the Count of *Solms*, and his Wife was Siſter to *Maurice* Duke of *Saxony*: And *Grave Scheremberg* had married his Siſter. There was alſo Count *Lodowick*, the Princes Brother, a Soldier, and a man of great Spirit, *Lutheran* all over, and as fit an inſtrument, as could be deſired, both to make a party, and to back it. Beſides theſe *Flacius Illiricus*, a moſt turbulent Preacher of new Doctrines, had been ſent for privately out of *Germany*, with ſome other Miniſters, and were diſperſed in all corners of the Country, incenſing and corrupting the people with as much induſtry as was poſſible. Theſe were *Lutherans*, and did miſchief enough; But when

Calvins

Calvins Quickſilver came to be caſt in among them, the fire then could be kept in no longer, but the flames break out in all places. The people in ſpight of Laws mutiny every where; down go the Kings Arms, down go Images, and all the Ornaments in the Churches; The Churches themſelves, as if they had been the Caſtles and Forts of ſome Enemy, are Sackd and Pillaged, Monaſteries rifled, Religious houſes robd, puld down, and ſpoiled, the Religious expeld and driven out by force of Arms, and all Magiſtrates whatſoever, that endeavored either to pacifie or oppoſe them, are contemn'd, abuſed, *reſiſted*: yea their fury and violence was ſuch, as they forced the Governeſs her ſelf to conſult of retiring out of *Bruſſels*; which ſhe had done, if the Counſel of ſome of the Nobles had not prevailed with her to the contrary. Yet did not the cauſes of her diſlike and diſtruſt ceaſe, but rather grow and encreaſe daily, *viz.* the private Conventicles,

Strad. de bell Belgic.

preachings, and insolency of the people, openly now *Lutheranizing*, and even in the Face of the Court: yea the frequent and private meetings of many of the Nobility were matter of much jealousie to her, whereof she often complained in Counsel, but without redress. She knew very well, the people could work no great effects without a head, and that the Nobles wanted power to execute any of their designs without the people; but that both of them conspiring to countenance and assist each other, much mischief might follow. *Orange*, who was the chief Captain and contriver of all, yet playd least in sight, and would very seldom seem outwardly to favor any change of Religion, all that he did, was, as he pretended, for the interest of the Common-wealth and for the publick good. He was assisted chiefly by the Marquis of *Bergben Montigny*, and *Florence Montmorency, alias* Count *Horn*, who by this time was grown a perfect

Male-

Malecontent; yet not for Religion, but upon ſome private reſpects, *viz.* of his own debt, and for being denied the government of *Zutphen*, but eſpecially for the execution of his Brother *Montigny* in *Spain*. The meetings, in which they agitated Counſels, and brought their deſigns onward to perfection, were firſt at *Breda*, whither the Count *Egmond* was alſo invited, as a man of the greateſt Military power and intereſt in that Country: and preſently after, as an effect or reſolution taken at that aſſembly, *Brederode* and his complices delivered their Petition to the Governeſs, as hath been ſaid, *for Liberty* of Religion. They had meetings alſo at *Hoochſtrat*, *Oſterweal*, and Saint *Trudon*, at which that Noble Count *Egmond* was undone; For at his Arraignment it was one of the principal things chargd againſt him, that he had been privie to the Confederations and agreements made at thoſe Aſſemblies. Secondly, that upon the ſame day the Petition was de-

livered by *Brederode*, he came with the Prince of *Orange* and Count *Horn* to the great Banquet at the Earl of *Culemberghs* house, where there were no less then Three hundred Confederates, and dined with them; at which time the name of *Geuses* was publikely assumed by the Confederates. Thirdly, that afterward he sent his Secretary, *Backerseal*, to the Crew, offering them his aid. And lastly, which himself acknowledged at the Bar, That he had offered his assistance to hinder the Duke *D' Alvas* coming into the Low-Countries, and that he had neither disliked, nor disswaded the proceedings of the Confederates; *Horn* was endicted upon the same Articles, with this further charge against him, That he threatned to levy Fifty thousand men to rescue his Brother, and bring him home upon force out of *Spain*. Upon proof of which accusations, they were, both of them, condemned and lost their heads; as it semed, not

not onely just for matter of Law, but also necessary for reason of State, for the example of others, for the Regents safety, and for vindication of the Kings honor and authority; which partly by their practises, and partly by their connivances contrary to duty, had been insufferably vilified and abused by the rude multitude. Yet is it commonly thought, that Count *Egmond* was rather drawn in by the Craft and Policy of *Orange*, then that he engaged much of himself; being otherwise a person of a plain, yet Noble and Magnanimous disposition, and therefore generally lamented. Sir *Roger Williams* History.

5. For what Prince is there in the World, that having endured so many indignities, and of such fowl nature, as those we lately mentioned, would not seek to vindicate his honor upon the offenders and to prevent the like for the future? Was it not time for the King to Arm, when the people were in Arms, and had, beside their con-

tempt of Religion, committed so many great and scandalous disorders? the Nobility, whose office and duty it was by their places to have suppressed and punished them, conniving at their proceedings? When the Cities were all in uproars, and the whole frame of the Common-wealth seeming to be shaken? Had not the King all the reason in the World to send *D' Alva* and forces of his own, when the Provincial Governors would not be commanded to apply theirs effectually to the business? It was certainly high time to do that which he did, not onely to repress and keep in order those rebellious Spirits, which were dispersed and acting in all parts of the Country; but also to encounter and oppose *Orange*, who by this time, what by his open backwardness and oppositions to such Counsels as tended to a speedy redress of those evils, and what by his secret practises and abetting of the Delinquent party, had no less undermined the government

ment it self, then he had discouraged and wearied the Governess. And for the Companies, which *D' Alva* brought out of *Spain*, at which the people were taught so much to murmur, could it be lawful for the Prince of *Orange* to bring in the *Reisters* out of *Germany*, and for his Brother the Count *Lodewick*; with an Army of *French* to invade *Henault*, and was it not lawful for the King to send in forces to maintain his own? Was it lawful for them to surprize *Montz*, and was it not more lawful for the King to expel them? Let no man dream, that if the Dukes forces had not come, the Country would have been quiet: for that was incredible to any body, that knew the State of affairs. The fire was not quenched, but covered, and would have broken out again in a greater flame. The Confederating of so many and great Persons, countenanced by the chief Governors themselves, did Prognosticate a storm to be yet coming; and all

men of understanding saw, they were not likely to be governed long by the Bridle in a Womans hand. Therefore was the King forced upon the matter to send *D' Alva*. And the rather, because he could not but know, that Monsieur *Chastillon*, the Admiral of *France*, had sent to Baron *Brederode*, both to incense him further against the King, and to perswade him not to agree with the Dutchess of *Parma*; for, saith he, *that would but deceive him*: and offering moreover in case of necessity, to assist him with Four thousand Gentlemen. That Count *Lodowick*, after his defeat at *Montz*, did lie at *Rochel* among the *Calvinists*; and that the Prince himself was gone into *France* on purpose to prepare for a future invasion. He knew, that the same Admiral afterwards did sollicit *Charls* the Ninth, King of *France*, to turn all his Wars upon *Flanders*, and to take upon him the protection of the Low-Countries; That *Aldegund*, a great Incendiary, was in

Jean Petit. l' Histor.

in *Germany* ſolliciting a party there with like eagerneſs. So that they laboring on all ſides to offend the King, ſhall it not be lawful for his Majeſtie to provide for his own neceſſarie defence, but he muſt be taxed with Tyranny? Certainly it is a moſt unequal cenſure, and argueth much more partiality then reaſon. *D. Alva* could be no cauſe of thoſe diſorders, which made his coming neceſſary; for they all preceded his coming. The Regent, notwithſtanding all her mildeneſs, yet was at laſt forced to deal with them by Arms; and having by that means once reduced them, yet they are inſolent and factious ſtill, and to bring their evil purpoſes to effect, they ſeek to Forreign Princes for aid. Who can wonder then, if the Duke, finding their diſtempers ſuch, as that gentle proceedings did rather aggravate, then allay the malady, did make his War with ſome rigor? It was no more then neceſſity, and the general malice, with which they had poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed the people againſt him, compelled him to do for his own ſafety. In the Paſſion week, preſently after his coming, there was a Conſpiracy to kill him, whiles he was at his Devotions, at the Monaſtery of the Green Vally in the Foreſt of *Sauve* not far from *Bruſſels*. Monſieur *Riſot*, *Carli*, *Villars* with Seven hundred Horſe and Five hundred Foote were deſigned to do it, when the Duke, the Nobles, and all his followers ſhould be at Maſs; and with fire and inſtruments deviſed for the purpoſe, to burn both men, and Monaſtery, and Church, good and bad, friends and enemies all together: as the two *Guidons* confeſſed. Such another buſineſs was intended alſo at *Bruſſels* againſt the *Spaniards*, as both *Petit*, *Mendoza*, and others teſtifie. Neither did their malice much ceaſe, when he was recalled. For as that Noble Lord the Duke of *Areſchot* diſcovered, and adviſed *Don John*, there was a Plot to have ſurprized his perſon, of which the

Mich. ab. Iſſelt. de bell. Belg.

Prince

Prince of *Orange* was reported to be the chief manager; and another to kill him at *Namur* by *Radcliff* and *Grey*, two Engliſhmen. I enquire not who ſet them on work; *Latet anguis in herbâ*, its a buſineſs not to be look't into too far. And did not thoſe *Calviniſts* at *Antwerp* as finely contrive, to have blown up that famous Duke of *Parma*, as he ſhould be going along the High Street, with all the chief State of the Country attending on him? So that 'tis cleer, how ſtrange ſoever they make of it, Proteſtants may be charged with Aſſaſſinats and Treaſons, as well as others.

Thus were the occaſions and first beginnings of the Nether-Landiſh tumults. To diſcourſe a little of the chief Author, Actor, and upholder of them, we are to know, The Prince of *Orange* (who ſignally deſerves that Character,) was a very popular, and no leſs politick man, and beſide a great Houſe-keeper, which qualities, eſpecially the laſt, very acceptable 6.

to

to that sort of people, stood him in no smal stead in order to his designs. The house of *Nassau* in *Germany* was Ancient and Honorable, but advanced in this Country chiefly by marriages. This *William* (his Father falling to *Lutheranism*) *Charls* the Fifth, Emperor, out of a Princely affection to him, took from his Father, and commended him to the care and Education of *Mary*, Queen of *Hungary*, his Sister. Afterwards he admitted him to be of his Bedchamber; Then made him General of his Horse, and after that raised him to be Leivetenant General of the Army. And yet further to endear his obligation to him, when he was to send the Imperial Crown to his Brother *Ferdinand*, he made choise of him, as a man of most Trust, and commended him likewise very much to his Son, King *Philip*; notwithstanding diverse often warned him to take heed, that he nursed not a Snake in his Bosom; to these favors we may adde how much the Emperor

peror favored his match with the Count of *Burens* Daughter and Heir, who was his first Wife, and by whom he was highly advanced; and that he procured *Rhenatus* of *Challon*, Prince of *Orange*, to make this *William* his Heire, when the President *Schorus* was wholly against him. These things considered, and also the many favors, and great trust, which King *Philip* also shewed to have in him, committing so many and so great Governments to his charge and fidelity, *viz.* *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, and *Burgundy*, as hath been said, it might seem impossible almost, that any thing should corrupt his Loyalty. The first visible disgust he took, was upon the Kings going into *Spain*. The Prince being then a Widower, aspired to marry with the Princess *Christerna*, Dutchess of *Lorrain*, Cousin Germane to the King, and labored also, that she might be made Governess of the Provinces in the Kings absence; to the intent, that by such Alliance

he

he might in effect sway the whole Government of the Provinces himself: a thing indeed for which he had gaped a long time, and stood competitor with Count *Egmond*. But the King preferring the Dutchess of *Parma*, he lost both his hopes and his Wife. Upon this grew his first hatred against D' *Alva* and the Cardinal *Granvellan*, by whose Counsels, he supposed, the Dutchess of *Parma* was preferred. So as Ambition and Pride being indeed the true internal motives of his discontent, Religion, and the Common-wealths interest, must be made the Mantle to hide it. Hereupon he marrieth into the house of *Saxony*, which was already *Lutheranized*, and sets *Brederode* and his fellows to work, as we have seen already. Then labors to make a difference between *Granvellan* and *Egmond* (although the former had been his good friend in many matters of importance;) practiseth what he can to hinder the coming in of D' *Alva*; nor did he ever, after that

that repulse concerning the Dutchess of *Lorrain*, shew himself wel affected to the Kings affairs, nor content with any favors. But after all this that hath been already recited, he invades *Frizeland*, directs *Lumay* to possess himself of *Brill*, and what else he could in *Holland*; gives order to his Brother *Scheremberg* to make himself master of *Zutphen*, and himself maketh *Saras* Governor of *Flushing*. Wherein (to note it by the way,) the World took notice of a great oversight in the Duke *d' Alva*, to neglect a place of so great importance so long, and to suffer it to be invested by the Enemy. In a word I may wel conclude, he was the great Wheel, whereupon the whole State of the Confederates affairs turned. It is true, he did once seek to be reconciled to the King, by intercession of the Emperor, and Duke of *Bavier*, but not being able to procure it *modo & formâ* as he desired, he grew desperate in his resolutions, though he met with

ill

ill ſucceſs in all things for a long time, and could finde no harbor but *Holland*. That Country indeed being now become, through his means, a receptacle for all Religions, afforded him a place of retreat, not onely to preſerve what remained, but alſo to repair and make up his decayed Eſtate. There factions were ripened to their full Maturity; and the place ſo fortified both by nature and art, that, till he ſhould be able to appear in Action to the World and fight, he might lie ſecure and write Apologies; encourage ſeditious people abroad, and ſettle his new Religion at home; which, although at firſt, and from his Father, it was *Lutheran*, yet after he had been in *France*, he Profeſſed rather to favor *Calviniſm*, providently and wiſely foreſeing, as he was a man that wanted no inſight into Worldly affaires of this nature, that they, *viz*, the *Calviniſts*, were to be his neereſt and ſureſt Neighbors.

All

All which practiſes and courſes of his notwithſtanding, with the injuſtice of them, being well diſcerned at laſt by the States of *Artois* and *Henault*, when they were, in the year 1579. reconciled to the King, with the aſſent of the moſt Honorable Duke of *Areſchot*, they binde themſelves in the Fifth Article of Agreement, to proſecute the War againſt the Prince of *Orange*, as the Enemy general of the peace of thoſe Countries, and to finde at their own charge Eighteen thouſand men for that purpoſe: which certainly being Perſons of ſuch Religions and right Noble quality, as 'tis known they were, and of ſo great experience in all the paſſages and pretences of *Orange*, they would never have done, if they had not known both him and his practiſes to be very bad. I confeſs, that the *Hollanders* are a people very induſtrious, and skilful to make uſe of their labor, but yet of ſuch a temper, that as a Learned Cenſor ſaith of them, 7.

Nes

Thuan. *Nec totam libertatem, Nec totam servitutem patiuntur*, They endure not well, *either absolute Liberty*, (which makes them insolent;) *nor absolute Servitude*, (which makes them mad.) Friends they are somewhat too much to change, and not always content with the present State: which would appear more then it doth, but that their mindes are now wholly set upon their Trade and profit, wherein finding much sweet, by their successes at home and abroad, they are extreamly jealous of any thing, that sounds but to the least obstruction of either of them. The Prince of *Orange* therefore understanding their natures very well, and to feed this jealous humor of theirs with fit matter, discovers a certain secret Counsel to them, which he pretended, *Henry* the Second, King of *France*, had taken with the Duke *d' Alva*, to suppress the Protestants by force of Arms, and to erect the Seventeen Provinces into one Kingdom; and this the *French* King himself

ſelf ſhould tell him at his being in *France*. But firſt was it ſo likely, the Duke would diſcover ſuch a ſecret of his Maſter to an Enemy newly, or ſcarce reconciled? Beſide, King *Henry* dying ſuddenly, as he did by miſchance, there was now no body living to diſavow the impoſture, but *D' Alva* onely; and him, he was ſure the people would not be over haſty to beleeve. He was the firſt alſo that gave out, that factious and ſtale Calumny againſt the Emperor and King of *Spain*, That they ſhould affect a Monarchy Univerſal over all *Europe*: which forgeries, how palpable ſoever, yet they ſerved his turn thus far, *viz.* to terrifie the *Hollanders*, to make them rely ſtill upon him, and to procure ſome diſtruſt and hatred in Forreign Nations againſt the *Spaniards* and houſe of *Auſtria*.

This upon the matter is the whole charge, and all that can be objected againſt the King, from the very beginning, as I have related 8.

lated it; and these the Actors which prosecuted the business: against whom what exceptions may be taken for their Estimation, Integrity, Testimony, especially in their own cause, every man may see. It remains, that we enquire a little, whether the King stood guilty of those Crimes, which they charged upon him, Injustice and Tyranny. For if he be innocent, these men were grand usurpers: if guilty, another question will arise, whether his error in Government will give them title, and his offence free them from Subjection. It is manifest to all the world, that the King ever desired peace, and with great care, so far as in him lay, labored to prevent the desolation of his people and Countries; as the course that was taken by that excellent and most loyal Prince the Duke of *Arschot*, and by the States General at *Gaunt* in the year 1574, do testifie. When they found it requisite to decree, and did decree a general *Amnestia* or Oblivion of all

all things past on both sides; and took order for the dismission of the *Spaniards*, Notwithstanding that in this pacification all things were, in a maner, referred to *the States*, and the King scarcely so much as mentioned: yet *Don John* did ratifie it, and procured the Kings consent for the confirmation of all, as appears by the *perpetual Edict*. This agreement was made by the States General of the Provinces, and for the general good and quiet of them; yet would not the Prince of *Orange*, *Holland*, nor *Zealand* accept of it. They perswaded the States General not to receive *Don John* for Governor, till the *Spaniards* were gone; although themselves refused at that very time, to dismiss those Forreign forces, which they had in *Holland*: that is to say, They would binde the Governor to perform promise, but they themselves must be at liberty to break. Was it for Religion they did dissent? that can hardly be said. For in the Articles of Agree-

greement there was proviſion made for their ſecurity in that point by this Article, *Ut ſola Romana religio in iis exerceatur, exceptâ Hollandiâ, & Zelandiâ.* Roman Religion was to be exerciſed onely in the other Provinces, but *Holland and Zealand were excepted.* And for the Prince himſelf in the general *Amneſtia*, he had as abſolute indempnity offered and aſſured him, as could be imagined; if that had been all he had ſought: And the States had prevailed more in his behalf, then the Emperor could. But Malice and Ambition tranſported him ſtill, and the more His Majeſtie gave aſſurance of his deſires of Peace; the more he prepared and was inclined to War: wherein yet the World did never count him a *Hannibal.* This appeared yet more plainly in the colloquy at *Breda* in the year 1575. where the King offered reaſonable conditions, and the Emperor had ſent the Count *Swartzembergh* to perſwade them to concord; yet the

the Prince would listen to nothing, the Treaty was fruitless, and at the same time the *Hollanders* were Treating by their Agents, *Aldegund* and *Douza*, to submit themselves to the Queen of *England*. Yet notwithstanding all this, which the King knew well enough, such was his patience and royal goodness, and so far was he from the baseness of Tyranny towards him or any other, that he proclaimed not *Orange Traytor* till the year 1580, that is, till his malice appeared to be irreconcileable, and his courses desperate; and that the Trayterous *Union* of *Utrecht* was framed and published, which is about Fifteen years after the beginning of the troubles. *Jean Petit.*

9. Adde hereunto, that when the Emperor procured the Treaty at *Colen* in the yeer 1579, and made choise of most Honorable and eminent persons for that purpose, *viz.* Two of the Princes *Electors*, the Bishop of *Wurtzburgh*, the Count *Wartzemburgh*, and Doctor *Lauen-*

man, the King of *Spain* was as forward, and sent thither the Duke *de Terra Nova*; And the Duke *Arschot* with some others, were Commissioners from the States with Commission Signed by the Arch-Duke *Matthias*. The States had by their Letter to the Emperor bearing date *June* the Eighth 1578. promised, that they were, and so would continue, constantly resolved, *Ut in Belgio colatur religio Catholica, & sua Regi constet Authoritas*, that both Catholike Religion and the Kings Authority should be maintained in the Netherlands. Before this at *Worms* in the year 1577. the Agents of the States submitted and referred themselves to the Emperor; as likewise the King of *Spain* did: Therefore both parties being so inclinable, and consenting *in Eodem Tertio* in the same Umpire, who could expect, but that a general peace should follow? But *Davus perturbat omnia*. When the Emperors Commissioners were come to *Colen* at the time appointed, *viz.* by the beginning

beginning of *April*, the States Commissioners appeared not till the Fourth of *May*, and then with a Commission insufficient; and their Treating restrained to a Term of Six weeks and no longer; when as themselves had been twice the time in but framing their Instructions, which the Commissioners of the Emperor took for a great error, as justly they might do. All which delays had been craftily procured by the Prince of *Orange* and his party, on purpose to obstruct the peace. And in the Articles themselves the States Commissioners propounded many things contrary to promise. In the Articles proposed by the Duke *de Terrâ Novâ* in the behalf of his Master, All kinde of severity relating to Religion was mitigated, as the Emperors Commissioners had assured them, to the intent, *ut nemo justè queri possit*, 3rd. that no man might complain of the King, as if he desired, either *to Tyrannize over their bodies*, *or to Seize their Estates*, *or to Oppress*

their Consciences for matter of Religion. But nothing could prevail: so the Imperial Commissioners finding such dallying and delays in the States, That in Sixteen weeks they could get no answer, and that in their Letters they did onely renew old grievances and quarrels, they broke up the Treaty and departed. Nevertheless *Bolduc* and *Valenciennes* received the Articles: So did *Over-Issle* and *Tournay*, *Artois* and *Henault* guided by the *Bonus Genius* of the Country; and *Em. Lalain* that valiant and religious Marquis of *Renty*, together with Monsieurs *de Capre*, *Heze*, *Barze*, and the rest contemned the course of *Orange*, offered their obedience to the King, and made peace with the Duke of *Parma*. But as for the *Hollanders* they were now further off then ever; they publish discourses against the Treaty, and labor by all means possible, how to make good their usurpation, and perfect their Union, which they were all this time a framing: not

for

forgetting to scatter seeds of dissention and further discord among the Provinces; in which business their Ministers helped them not a little. And lastly at this time also, by the advise of *Orange* and *England* they admitted Monsieur, the Duke of *Alenson* in the year 1578. to a kinde of Protectorship of the Provinces, creating him Duke of *Brabant* and absolute Prince of the *Netherlands*: And all to shew, how irreconcileable they were to their natural Sovereign.

Thus much hath been said to shew the Kings good inclination to Peace. Now for his Tyranny and Exaction which they pretended, and objected in the second place, as the cause of making that Union; and also his breaking of their Priviledges, and the too severe Government of his Ministers, contrary, as they say, to his Oath at Coronation: surely so long after D' *Alva*'s times, and under the moderate Government of the Duke of *Parma*, and after so 10.

many significations of the Kings gracious disposition and offers to ease their burthens, if they would themselves, this may rather be judged a Cavil to shift Peace, then any desire to be rid of War. But as for the business of the *Tenth Penny*, an exaction which they so much complain of, we must draw the Curtain a little, and tell you, it was *necessity*, and not his *own will*, which forced him to require that; and that otherwise, neither would he have done it, nor the King have suffered it. But, as it happened, being driven to an extremity for the satisfying of the Soldiers, (who always grow wilde, if they want Pay,) he was constrained to incur an inconvenience, that he might avoid a mischief. *England* and *Orange* were the cause of it. For about this time some of the Counsel here, by the instigation of the Prince, had made stop of no less than then Six hundred thousand Duckets, which were sent out of *Spain*, to the Army, but driven by hard weather

and

and ill fortune upon the coast of *Hampshire*; notwithstanding as some say, the Queen had given a safe Conduct for the passage thereof. But the Polititians of those times, and Enemies of *Spain*, knew well, into what Streights the want of this money would drive *D' Alva*; and that of necessity he must commit some error or other, which would encrease the hatred of his Government, and perhaps arm the peoples fury once more to sedition. Besides this the King had sent another sum of Two hundred thousand Duckets by the Duke *de Medina*, but that also was intercepted at Sea by the *Zealanders*, and converted to other uses. This man was of a milder nature, and sent on purpose to qualifie the severity of *D' Alva*, who by his natural Sternesse and some errors in Government, (which the general malice of the people, and disfavor of some Forreign Princes did much aggravate,) had made himself, it must be confessed, not a little odious: but having, as

was said, lost his money and Ships, he had small heart to stay among them; so he quickly returned home again, and with a resolution, it seemed, never to have further dealing with such sharking Cormorants, and left *D' Alva* in a Labyrinth of difficulties, how to get money and govern his Soldiers. But however, it appears by this, that it was never *the Kings pleasure nor purpose*, but meerly the necessity of his present wants, which compelled the Duke to demand that Tribute; and that the quarrel upon it was rather made and contrived by themselves, then given. And these great pretenders for the Commons, that seemed then so extreamly careful of the peoples ease, and sollicitous to keep them free from Taxes, Impositions, &c. Let me ask them one question, *Why do they now Tax them so much?* Why do they lay such heavy burthens upon them, they themselves now they have them in their power? Excises? Subsidies? Taxes of all sorts? which they

they have augmented, and do daily augment and raise in such sort, that never any Common-wealth in Christendome groaned under the like burthens. 'Tis certain; *The Gentle Father of the people* (as they once called that Fox the Prince of *Orange*) did propound and endeavor to wrest from them, not the *Tenth* but *the Sixth Penny* towards his charge and maintenance in the year 1584, after he had made them *a Free State*. This you will say, was a Note above *Ela*. And though the people denied it and murmured grievously at the motion, yet is he still in *Holland Pater Patriæ*; so well and cunningly doth he both shuffle his Cards, and play his Game. *Barnevelt* in his Apologie confesseth, that in the year 1586. he found the order of Government out of all good frame; many Protestant Preachers would not acknowledge the States, because they had not that command and discipline after the *French* fashion, which they desired; The Common

Mich. ab Isselt de bell. Belgic.

people all contrary-minded one to another, and the Towns wishing for Peace; The Expences of the State exceeded all incomes by Twenty six Millions, and that (which I cannot but wish the Reader to observe,) *West-Frizeland*, which in the beginning of the troubles did contribute onely Eighteen hundred thousand Florens, was now charged to pay *Quadragies centena millia librarum & duos Milliones.* I have put it down in the Authors own words, because I would not have the Reader possibly mistaken. Who is now the Tyrant and Exactor? It seems though the people have changed their Lord, they have not laid down their burthen. *D. Alva* may be said to have beat them with Whips, but the States with Scorpions. Do but consider their Excises and Impositions upon all sorts of Commodities, even the most necessary for humane life and subsistance, *viz.* Meat, Drink, Fewel, yea mens servants Wages, and what not? Besides

Besides Loans and Benevolences, which are both commonly required, and heavy. *Cnichius* directly chargeth them, that they exact one way or other the Fourth part of the peoples Revenues, that are *Hollanders* and live out of the Country: But, saith he, *Si in Provinciis nostris, &c.* if they live in any of our Provinces by leave, *Semissem jubent solvere, &c.* they require them to pay *the one half*; and in case they refuse or neglect, *They take all.*

As for the cruelty of *D' Alva*, (which was objected so much to little purpose in the Treaty at *Colen*, and hath been since Rhetorically aggravated by their Doctor *Baudius*) let us call to minde, what provocations were at first given him, by the oppositions and malice of the *Nassovians*, by the War at *Monts*, by the practises used to impead his entrance into *Brabant* and by so often contriving his death: yet were these venial sins. But when he found the Nobility 33. See *Baudii orat.*

so

ſo far engaged with the *Geuſes*, as they were, that the Kings Authority was ſlighted, Catholike Religion generally deſerted and profaned, the chief ſolemnities thereof in ſome places moſt impiouſly and contumelioufly abuſed in the face of Heaven and of the Catholike Army; when he ſaw the Towns in *Holland* and *Zealand* revolt, *Harlem*, *Alcmar* and others refuſing the Kings Authority, what indifferent man can wonder, if ſeverity were uſed at firſt, to ſuch of them as fell under his power? Who would not think that Cauterizing was neceſſary, when there appeared ſo much *proud fleſh* in the wound; and that purgations muſt be ſomewhat violent, when the body is ſo much and ſo generally diſtempered? Nor could the peaceable nature of the Commendador *Ludovicus Requeſens*, who ſucceeded *D' Alva*, do any good upon ſuch rough and irreconcileable ſpirits. How often was he heard to cry out, *Dios nos libera de eſtos eſtados*, God deliver

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me from these States once. Insomuch that Sir *Roger Williams*, a Gentleman of our own Country and Soldier of good note, who had served on both sides, and knew the nature of the people very well, condemns the revocation of *D' Alva* as an error of State; *Because*, saith he, *nothing but rigor could reduce such violent Spirits unto order, and nothing but a Sword in hand keep them in obedience.* See his History. As for the Kings Oath which they say, he hath broken in the matter of priviledges, if they would decide the matter by justice, they must make it plain and evident, by what Fact, in what case, instance, example he hath broke it; and ought not to presume so much as they do, *viz.* to be (Themselves) both Plaintiffs, Accusers and Judges. Again supposing that the King had broken his Oath, may not many things happen after his Oath-taking to excuse him from perjury? By Law every Oath or promise, how absolute soever, yet hath always this necessary condition tacitly

ly implyed in it, *viz. rebus sic stantibus*, that things remain so as they were, when the Oath was taken. But if such difficulties or alterations happen, as render the promise either impossible or unlawful to be performed, a man doth not then commit perjury, nor any other kinde of injustice, by not performing his promise. What if that which the King at his Inauguration promised for the good of the Province, cannot be observed now, but with the great dammage of the Province, and of all *Europe*? and this occasioned by the distemper and change of the people themselves of the Province? of necessity, if the *case*, that is to say, the condition and state of affairs be so far changed, resolutions and proceedings upon them must also change. Again, supposing he had broken his Oath, *sua culpâ* and blameably, yet were not the States thereby inabled or authorized to depose him, and chuse a new Prince. For in the Articles of the *Joyful Entry* this

is

is a Clause. *Ut si in omnibus, aut in vno quopiam Articulo pacta ista Dux Brabantiæ violasset, &c. That if it shall happen that the said Dake of* Brabant *doth violate* or break *either all or any one of these Articles, it shall be lawful for his Subjects to deny him the accustomed services, until the thing in Controversie be either revoked or amended.* So long they might, but after the grievances complained of should be redressed, they were to return again to their duty, and to rest *in statu quo prius* of obedient Subjects. And the world knows, how oft the King offered unto the Emperor, to other Forreign Princes, and to the States themselves to revoke and amend, whatsoever could be proved amiss. Beside, the States and Courts of *Brabant* are more proper to decide this question, then the States of *Holland*; who have no such priviledges *Originally*, but onely by *Participation and Union*: And they, that is, *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Henault* and the rest have conformed themselves, and

and are returned to their due Allegiance, being obedient to the King, his Laws and Government. And if *Holland* would but follow their example, the buſineſs were at an end.

12. To draw therefore to ſome concluſion in this matter of Priviledges and of the Kings Oath, it would be demanded, who granted theſe Priviledges at firſt? was it not the Prince *ex mero motu & gratiâ ſpeciali*, out of his meer grace and favor, and to gratifie, and endear the affections of good Subjects to him? Do not all their Charters run in this ſtill? Speak they not all this language? What ungrateful preſumption is it then for people to be ſo ready and induſtrious to moleſt their Sovereign Princes upon the advantage of their own favors? What if they be forced to break an Article, or ſome clauſe of an Article upon urgent cauſe? muſt it be judged a crime unpardonable? what would they have ſaid to *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, and of the.

the *Netherlands*, who upon occasion resumed into his own hand, and by his own Authority, all the Priviledges and Immunities of *Gaunt*? yea detained them all his life-time; teaching them thereby to acknowledge from whose grace they held them? And though the people compelled his Son *Charls* to restore them, upon his coming to *Gaunt*, yet it proved to their cost: for they were forced to seek pardon, and to cast themselves and their Charters once again at his feet, and to stand to mercy. The like he did at *Mechlin*, but not without great suit made to him, and upon such conditions, as himself thought good. And it is not a little strange to be considered, why this Prince of *Orange*, who urgeth so much the Kings Oath, and that it ought to be kept, yet makes so little conscience to perform his own. For he may remember, when he was made Governor of *Brabant*, he took his Oath to maintain Catholike Religion in that Province. Hath he performed

Henric. Berland. Histor.

Mich. Baium. de Union. Stat.

formed it? When he retired into *Holland*, he professed and protested publikely, he would alter nothing, nor dispossess the Catholike Clergie of their livings: The like he did at *Amsterdam*, and further bound himself there with a Solemn Oath; yet he performed none of these, but the clean contrary most perfidiously and wickedly, as soon as ever he had power in his hands, and could attend to do it, so that to serve his own turn, and for his treacherous end, we see how much he could urge another man, though his own sovereign, to his duty: but for his own, *Religion and bonum publicum* gives him a dispensation. And it is just according to *Calvins* Institutions. A man, saith he, once perfectly illuminated by the light of the Gospel *simul omnibus vinculis obediendi legibus & Ecclesiæ solutus est*, is *ipso facto and at an instant discharged from all bands of obedience either to the Church or the State.* A blessed Lesson doubtless, and wherein he could not but have many Scholars.

Lib. 4. *c.* 13. *Sect.* 21.

Scholars. But all this while no particular charge comes in against the King, no instance, no example is given, wherein he did break his Oath, when it was possible for him to keep it; which through their distempers and undutifulness, was become not a little difficult. Was it in his exactions? that is answered already. Was it for bringing in *Spaniards* upon them? Time and necessity forced him to be at that great charge and trouble much against his will, to defend the Church, to defend the Religion of his Ancestors and of the Country, against the insolencies of rude, ignorant, impious people, connived at, and countenanced by them; lastly to defend the Laws and laudable Customs of the Country, and to make them know he was their Prince. Was it in the matter of Religion? Indeed it is true, there is a clause in the *Union*, *contra omnem vim*, &c. *That it should be against all violence whatsoever, that should be offered them under pretence of the Kings*

Kings Authority for matter of Religion. It is to be observed, at the beginning *Orange*, *Horn*, and *Montigny* joyned with the people upon pretense onely of oppoſing the Inquiſition; upon this ground onely they would ſeem to countenance *Brederode* and his complices, and for this end only they ſeem to urge the *Religions Vried*, yea they publiſh books, and make liberal promiſes to be content, if they may but enjoy their own Religion, and that they will not prejudice or oppoſe the Catholikes: and with ſuch diſſembling as this, they drew a great part even of the Catholikes themſelves to joyn with them, yea Prelates, and perſons no way ſuſpected for the matter of Religion, yet deceived not a little with their pretenſes of liberty and of the publike good: for which reaſon the Arch-Duke *Matthias* was called in, and they engaged to aſſiſt and defend him with their lives and eſtates. Well! the *Religions Vried* was granted, and thereby, as it were,

were, a *Supersedeas* to the Inquisition; all violence and severity for matter of Religion ceased. What could they desire more? All the Provinces, and *Holland* and *Zealand* among the rest, enjoyed what they would have, Liberty, Religion, *Et quid non?* But it is an observation of infallible verity, Faction and Heresie are always humble, till they get the Sword in their hands; when they have it, they change their tune; as it manifestly appeared by their proceedings. For in a short time they of *Holland* were so far from keeping *the Peace of Religion*, which they had promised, that they expel the Catholike Clergy out of all places under their power, They seize upon their Lands, Sequester their Benefices, Imprison their Persons, yea molest and prosecute all without exception, whose consciences suffer them not to conform to their pretended Synods, at *Dort* in the year 1574. at *Middleborough* in the year 1581. yea they drown, and use

uſe many other kindes of cruelty towards men meerly for Religion, not enduring ſo much as to heare of Toleration,, but onely for their own, and ſome few Anabaptiſts, and Semi-Arrians among them. *The Religions Vried* ſo impetuouſly deſired, or rather demanded, when time was, for themſelves, is now quite forgotten; and Merchants of *Amſterdam*, Brewers of *Delft*, Staplers of *Dort*, Seamen of *Horn*, with ſome few illiterate Miniſters joyned with them do now Direct, Rule, Govern and Judge in all things, *Comme bon leur ſemble* (as it is in one of the Articles touching the *Union*,) *according as to themſelves ſeemeth good*: No man muſt gainſay them. Truly if the King had proceeded thus with them, if he had taken Arms and levyed forces to introduce a new Religion upon them, as they did upon the Country, I ſhould confeſs he had much incroached upon their liberties, had broken his Oath, and incurred their hatred juſtly. The States of

Holland,

Holland, *Zealand*, *&c.* have done all this, and much more mischief and injurie to the people of those Provinces, where they command, what therefore do they desire? doth not their own example and practises justifie, beyond all exception, the Kings proceedings? Shall they presume to introduce and set up by force of Arms a Religion, which before themselves no man ever owned? Shall the Consistory at *Geneva* be so precise, as not to permit any kinde of Toleration? Shall the pretended Churches of *France*, and *Bearn* more especially, insult upon, and oppress those poor Catholikes which live under their power? And must the King of *Spain* onely be content to sit still, and let Sectaries play what pranks they please, and commit all outrages in his Dominions, without check or controule? Who can be so absurd, as to judge it a thing reasonable? *Deos peregrinos ne colunto*, It was a Law of *Romulus* against the introducing of new and strange gods.

Numa

Numa Pompilius, *Socrates*, and all the wise States-men of the world Heathen no less then Christian, have been always careful to provide against Innovation, change and corrupting of Religion. And shall his Catholike Majestie do nothing for the preserving of Religion sound and entire, who, both by his own piety, and the dignity of his Title is obliged to do so much? Shall it be necessary for the peace of their new State to use severity, and shall it not be both necessary and just for the preservation of his, which is so Ancient, so Old? For their conscience sake they will bar out Catholikes. Shall he not for conscience sake take the same course with *Calvinists*? How strangly do their beginnings and proceedings differ? They take up arms against their Sovereign for Liberty of Conscience; and yet by those Arms they forbid Liberty of Conscience to their Sovereign. For as much as they forbid it to his people, their Fellow-subjects, they forbid

forbid it to Him, who pretends to no more in that respect, then what every subject he hath ought to enjoy: And that his person, together with some other of his Subjects, is free, is not, because these men would not, but because they cannot bring them in Bondage.

These States in their Letters to the Emperor 1608. pretend, that the *Spaniards* made use of the Treaty at *Colen*, rather to oppress the Country of the *NetherLands*, then to ease them; and therefore, to avoid utter ruin, *Pleræq; Belgicæ Provinciæ, quæ in Unione perstiterant, &c. Several of the Provinces*, say they, *which stood firme to the Union, did at last renounce, or abjure the King, and established unto themselves a certain form of Government, in the nature of a Free State, and have been so acknowledged by other Christian Princes for Thirty years together and more.* The ground of this Plea is Tyranny, exercised after the Treaty at *Colen*; but this 13.

Union was made before: how then doth it cohere to justifie their doings? They say also, that the King of *Spain* and Arch Duke acknowledge them as *Free Provinces, in quas ipsi nihil juris pretendunt, upon whom they pretend to have no Title.* This is a new Plea, I confess. But the Reader will observe, as it can onely justifie their possession and title *for the future*; so doth it manifestly suppose, that their actings before that Declaration was made, and by which it was forcibly drawn from their Prince, were Illegal, Disloyal, Rebellious. Which the States may do well to remember, so often as they use that Plea. Nevertheless, because, by an imperfect disquisition of the matter I would not do harm, where I intend onely good, I leave this wholly to the Consideration of the Honorable and Learned Chancellor *Peckius*, who can best, in a convenient time, satisfie the world, that this is but a Scar-Crow, a Fig-leaf-pretence, and a Thunder without

a Bolt. So that their whole Plea, at left for their past actions, resting only upon the stilts of pretended Tyranny, Exaction, and abrogation of priviledges, which have been so often and so manifestly disproved, what remains but their condemnation? And that we abhor the principles, which have lead them into this predicament of disloyalty and sin? And yet, to leave nothing untouched, that can be easily thought on, let us once again suppose all their charges, *viz.* Tyranny, Exaction, breach of Oath, &c. to be true; yet must we tell them, The Tyranny of a King shall never warrant their usurpation and greater Tyranny. Yea suppose, he hath lost his right, by what Law, Order, or Priviledge acknowledged do they pretend to have found it? Nay what Law of equity or reason have they to Act those things, which they confess to be Illegal, Unwarrantable, yea Tyrannical in him? Is it so great an offence for the King to abrogate

their priviledges, and is it not as great, or greater, offence for Subjects to usurp his? nay to usurp greater, then they will acknowledge he ever had? May they onely be Parties and Judges in their own case, and to the prejudice, yea punishment of no less Person, then their Prince? never was such iniquity heard of, Posterity will not beleeve it. The *Switzers*, The *Amphictyons* (those *Cantons* of *Grecia*) never heard of such Liberty; what is, (if this be not,) to confess plainly, *Regna occupantium esse*, that Kingdoms go onely by conquest, that possession and power are sufficient titles to any Government? 'Tis true, a man may make himself *Civis alienæ reipublicæ*, a Subject to another State, then that whereof he is native, perhaps more ways then one; But he can never unmake himself Subject of that Country, where he is native, do what he can, especially staying there: and much less of a Subject make himself Sovereign. For let him

him Rebel, (as who doubts, but the *Hollanders* did,) yet he remains a Subject still *de jure*, and of right. Adde hereunto, if the King should forfeit his Earldom of *Holland*, it were not to them he should forfeit it, but unto the Emperor, to whom it escheates, as is cleer both by the Imperial and Municipal Laws. Forfeitures do not use to fall to the Tenants, but to the Lord of the Fee. And 'tis evident, that *Holland* was erected into an Earldom, not by the Grandsires of *Orange*, nor of any of the Burgers of *Amsterdam*, *Delft*, *Dort*, &c. but by the Emperor *Carolus Calvus* in the year 863. *Qui cum audivit*, &c. *Who hearing*, saith the * Historian, *that the County of Holland, being a part of the Emperor's demesnes, was much infested and spoyled by the Danes, at the instant request of Pope* John, *principatum ejus*, &c. *bestowed the principality thereof upon* Theotbrick, *or* Thierry. If then the Earldom of *Holland*, &c. be not in the King of *Spain*, to whom it descended line-

* Berland. Meyer.

ally from *Theodorick*, The Emperor may give a second Investiture thereof, to whom he please, as of a Fief Imperial. For to say, it should be lapsed into the right of the Province, as perhaps particular Estates may do, is vain. The Emperor takes no notice of their private customes, neither can they be prejudicial to a third Person, who is so much superior to them, and upon whom their very customes do originally depend. Beside, the Earldom was never vacant, there was always an Heir notoriously known, either in possession, or pleas for it. They hold it therefore by the sword onely; but that is the worst title of all, and fitter for those Hoords of *Tartarians*, then for a Common-wealth of Christians. Neither *Littleton*, nor *Somme rural*, nor *Jus feudale* know any such Tenure. A certain *Hollander*, in a third defence which he hath written of the united Provinces calls the King *Raptorem & Hereticum notorium*, Spoyler and Notorious

rious Heretick and therefore to be set upon and driven out of his Kingdom *by a general League and Union of all the forces of all Protestant Princes and States of Christendom*, But, *hoc tantum defuit*, this onely was wanting to advance their Calumnies against His Majestie to the height of impudence. Never was the King of *Spain* called Heretick by man, since he deserved the title of Catholike: and it could not be done now, but by one, whose Malice, and Heresie together, had corrupted his judgement unto madness.

Nor is it to much better purpose, 14.
that which they say concerning other Princes and States, viz. *That they have been acknowledged and treated by forreign Princes, as Free States, above thirty years.* That time will not serve for Prescription: and if it would, Prescription always pleadeth some other Title, and possession *bonâ fide* beside: neither of which can they pretend without blushing. Neither can

the opinion of forreign Princes make their bad claym better; it may give some reputation indeed to an usurper, but not any Title of right. And as in a bad quarrel bravely defended, not the cause; but the success gains the credit; so it is their prosperity, and not the justice of their cause, which doth them honor. Beside, it is not true that Princes have so reputed them: To Negotiate with them under a quality, which they will assume, is one thing; and really to adjudge that quality, as due to them, is another. They offered the Sovereignty of these Provinces to Queen *Elizabeth*; but she refused them: The world doth not think, it was out of any Favor to King *Philip*, that she did so, but because she knew, they offered something more then their own; and she was not willing to give her own people such a bad President against her self. And when, for private ends and some reasons of State, she was content for a while to take upon

on her the charge and title of *Protectreſs of the poor diſtreſſed States, &c.* it was obſerved, the buſineſs was moſt earneſtly promoted by them, who were *now* as willing to be rid of the * *Son*, as when time was, the Marquis of *Wincheſter* had been to be rid of the * *Father*. This is upon record, that *Averſata eſt Regina* the Queen could never endure the offer of the Sovereignty of thoſe Provinces: Neither was Sir *Noel Caron* in her time ever acknowledged Embaſſador, but Agent. But to joyn iſſue with them more neerly, let us here what *Damhouderius*, a famous Lawyer, and their own Countryman, ſaith, *Seditioſi ſunt, qui moliuntur conſpirationem*, &c. *Seditious perſons*, ſaith he, *are ſuch as hatch or foment Conſpiracies againſt the Governors and Lievtenants of the Provinces, that procure unlawful meetings or aſſemblies of the people, or cauſe any Tumults in the Towns.* What is this but an Endictment drawn againſt the States, conſidering their practiſes, not onely againſt the

* E. Leiceſter.

* Duke of Northumberland. *Camden.*

Praxis Crimin. c. 132.

Person of *D' Alva*, but of *Don John* himself, the Duke of *Parma*, &c. their many and tumultuous meetings at *Breda*, *Osterweal*, Saint *Trudens*, their encouraging, yea incensing the *Geuses* throughout all the Provinces, lastly with their defence and holding of *Harlem*, *Alemar*, *Leyden*, and other places by force of Arms? Again Chap. 82. he teacheth, that to make a War just, there must be first *a just cause*, Second, *honest intention*, Third, *Authority of the Prince*, or Supream Magistrate, *Sine quâ*, *without which*, saieth he, *'tis Treason to make War*. That same *Sine quâ* of his might make the States tremble, if they reflect upon it. For in all their Wars they neither had good cause nor good colour. Their Religion and Liberties were all secured to them by the pacification at *Gaunt*, by the perpetual Edict, by the Articles of the Treaty of *Colen* which were all quietly enjoyed without disturbance, by such of the Provinces as would conform to them.

them. Their Sovereign was known to be His Catholike Majestie, and for their *good intention*, as no man could judge of it but by their actions, so it appeared cleerly to be onely to sow dissention among the people, and through factions and discord to arm them by degrees against the supream Magistrate under colour of Religion. And the Prince of *Orange* most disloyal of all other; because being a person of Honor, and so highly entrusted by the King, he betrayed that great trust reposed in him, and made a War, by his own Authority and that of his faction, against the King: Although he had neither Office nor any kinde of Command in the *Low-Countries*, but what he had under the Wings of the Eagle, and the Authority of the Lyon. All his Belgick Lands, he held in Fee of the Duke of *Burgundy*, as his Leige-Lord; he did Homage and Fealty for them, and knew, that a Sovereign gives Law as well as offices to his Subjects. Besides, *Claudius le Brun*, another *Proces. Crimin.*

another famous Lawyer addeth this, *viz. That whosoever surprizeth Towns, Castles, Forts, without order of his Sovereign* (as the Prince caused *Lumay* to do in *Holland*, and as *Voorst* and *Barland* did *Flushing*) *by which the peace of the Country is broken; or who attempteth against the life of his Sovereigns Lieutenant, it is Treason.* And these are judgements, which all *Europe* do consent in, decrees of reason, and principles of Government, which must not be called in question: if the States of *Holland* themselves do permitt them to be disputed, they must never expect Peace, Order, or any setled obedience in their Country.

15. So that by Law 'tis cleer, in what case the States do stand, for thus breaking the peace of Christendom in those times, and being cause of the effusion of so much Christian blood, as hath been shed in that quarrel. Now concerning any liberty which the Gospel, Holy Scriptures, or any principles of true

true Religion may be supposed to give them, to use such proceedings against the Sovereign Prince, I shall not enter into any Theological dispute with them, as being beside my purpose, which is onely to shew *matter of opinion, and matter of Fact* in this controversie of *obedience due to the Supream Civil Magistrate*: And therefore, because I write onely to *English* men, I shall content my self onely with the judgement of Doctor *Bilson* against them. He was a great Divine, and a great Prelate of the Church of *England*, and chosen on purpose to write on this Argument, by the greatest Statesman of that time; and he wrote *cum privilegio* of the State, and with the general approbation of the *English* Church. *Shall a King*, saith he, *be deposed, if he break his promise, and Oath at Coronation, in any of the Covenants and Points, which he promiseth?* He answers in the Margin, *No. The breach of Covenants is not deprivation*: and gives this reason, *The people may not break* Christian Subject, &c.

with

with their Princes, ſo often as they break with God. And afterward, *Subjects*, ſaith he, *cannot depoſe their Princes, to whom they muſt be Subject for Conſcience ſake.* This is Doctrine, we ſee, quite contrary to the Aphoriſms of *Holland*, and to the Divinity that is now currant at *Rochel*. Now as private ſubjects may not, by Gods Law, depoſe their Princes, ſo are they forbidden to take Arms againſt them; and the reaſon hereof is invincible. *For* ſaith Doctor *Bilſon*, *he that may fight, may kill; and War againſt the Prince, and killing of the Prince are of conſequence inevitable. The Apoſtles*, ſaith he, *obeyed Tyrants, that commanded all things againſt Religion: And in thoſe things, which were commanded againſt God, they did ſubmit themſelves with meekneſs to endure the Magiſtrates pleaſure, but not to obey his will.* Laſtly, and moſt of all to the purpoſe he concludeth, *if the Laws of the Land appoint the Nobles, as next to the King, to aſſiſt him in doing right, and to withhold from doing*

doing wrong, then are they Licensed by mans Laws to interpose themselves, but in no case to deprive the Prince, where the Scepter is inherited. And because some of good judgement have been lead into that error, that the Dukes of *Burgundy* had not full Power or Sovereignty in the *Netherlands*, I will send them to School to all the Lawyers, Records, Stories, and (which is most infallible) to the practise and Common Laws of the Country, and unto *Bodin*; and satisfie my self to alledge here that Ancient and Honorable Counsellor of our Nation the Lord Chancellor *Egerton*, who in his Oration for the *Postnati* saith thus, *The Dukes of Burgundy were absolute Princes, and had Sovereign power in their Countries. And King* Henry *the Eighth, had as absolute power, when his Stile was Lord of* Ireland, *as when he was King: For the difference of Stile makes not the difference of Sovereignty.* I conclude therefore upon the grounds of all Law, Divine and Humane, and (as

Bodin. de rep.

P. 71.

(as you have seen) upon a full view and examination of all their pretenses, complaints, excuses, &c. that as their usurpation at first was without warrant, so they continue the possession with as little conscience; That all their Pleas are either Nullities or Forgeries, and they have indeed no better title, then what success and their Cannon gives them. And that all forreign Soldiers that assist them, knowing the injustice of their cause, and that the War is so utterly unlawful, do incur *Mortal Sin* and danger of damnation; and may as justly be reproved, as King *Josaphat* was for helping and assisting *Ahab*. Look to the end, for it is certainly fearful, and we must know, that ἔχει τέλος ἐκεῖνον ὄμμα.

16. I write not this as an Enemy to the Country. I hold it a Peerless County for the goodly Townes, Wealth, Traffick, Strength, and Fertility in so small a Circuit; nor for any personal quarrels; nor for any corruption, or affentation in regard

gard of the match with *Spain*; but onely for the truth of the story, which indueed me, together with the danger of the President, and the manifold injuries that were done to Religion. For though I remembred the general dislike that they have of our government, their dealing with the Queens Officers, and how unkindly of old they used my Lord *Willoughby*, as his Apology testifieth; and of late what complaints our Merchants Adventurers, in their Books, have made of their ill usage by them at *Mosko*, at the *East-Indies*, &c. what contempt they shewed, when the Duty of Sixteen Herrings was demanded in his Majesties right, for Fishing upon the Coast of *Scotland*, presuming no less then to imprison him that demanded it, and many such like matters; yet seeing the State is not moved, why should I be offended? And when I say *The State*, I mean not the people onely, but especially the King, to whom *Holland* is most obliged; and more parti-

particularly for Two Singular and Royal Favors, such as might in reason require some reciprocal return of thankfulness, and breed in them good Blood, good Affections, and also good Language. The first was in restoring to them the Keyes, which did open and lock up their Province; and this not for any reward, but a restitution onely of part of his due. The second for the Free permission of their Fishing upon the *English* Coast; wherein they yearly employ above Thirty thouland persons, who are set on work by it, and above Four thousand Busses, Doggerboats, Galliots, and Pinks; to their exceeding great benefit and enrichment: which is not a liberty they have by any Law, as some men pretend, but a priviledge, or permission rather of royall Grace and Favor. And *Grotius* may prove, without any mans contradiction, *Mare Liberum*, in this sense, as the Kings Highway is *Free* for every man to walk, that is, to go and come; but he shall never be able

able to prove, that *Fishing is Free*, that is to say, taking away the profit upon another Princes Coast, without leave of the Prince first had and obtained. 'Tis true, they have had the boldness to do this for a long time without leave; but they may hap to finde at last, the longest time they can pretend, will not serve them for prescription. And thus much for our new Masters, and no very good Neighbors, The High and Mighty States of the United Provinces of the *Netherlands*.

Tienlus

Titulus Quintus.

PALATINISM,
OR
The Troubles in BOHEMIA
AND THE
PALATINATE
About Religion.

1. *Bohemia* is the laſt Stage of the Scene of Forreign Tragedies, or Tumults for Religion, to which I am now going; yet ſo as I muſt take the *Palatinate* in my way, an unfortunate Province of late, which in the ſpace of an Hundred years hath changed Religion

Religion no leſs then Five times, and yet, as it ſeems, never learned well that part of Religion, which is not the leaſt principle, *concerning Obedience*. But of this wee ſhall ceaſe to wonder, when we think of *Paræus*, *Gracerus*, and ſome other Divines, that have poſſeſſed the Chaire there; and of the Schools of the new diſcipline, which are open. *Paræus* in his Commentary upon the Thirteenth *ad Romanes* teacheth plainly, *Subditi poſſunt ſuos reges deponere, &c.* That *Subjects may depoſe their Princes for Tyranny, &c.* Tyranny is contrary to the very end and being of Government, and therefore where it is Univerſal and general, and no other redreſs to be found, it is capable of the leſs diſpute; onely it is not to be determined by private perſons, eſpecially of his Robe; which yet moſt commonly they do: or *when they compel their Subjects to Idolatry*. By *compelling to Idolatry* he means, if the Prince maintains Maſs, Confeſſion, Prieſthood, and other

the

the Service and Religion of the Catholike Church; (as all Catholike Princes are bound to do by their Oath:) or indeed (with these men) if they maintain any other Religion then pure *Calvinism*, it is to compel to Idolatry. This is the sentence, which he pronounceth against the Emperor, the Kings of *Spain*, *France*, *Poland*, the Princes of *Italy*, *Germany*, &c. And yet this is but the first peale, which he rang as a Toxsan or Alarum-bell to *Bohemia*. For he addeth another Article, which, if they look not well to it, may touch Reformers Freehold, as well as other Princes. It is, *Quando sub prætextu Religionis*, &c, *When under colour of Religion they look after their own advantages* or *profit*. This had not been a Lecture to be read to *Henry* the Eighth, and the Courtiers of his time. And surely, if a man should ask *Murray* and *Morton*, those two pillars of Reformation, in *Scotland*; *Orange* and *Horn* in the *Netherlands*; *Conde* and the Admiral in *France*; the

the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Northumberland* in *England*; *Saxony*, *Sweden*, *Denmark* and the rest of the *Lutheran* Princes in *Germany*; whether they had not some by-ends of Avarice, Ambition, and other sinister and worldly nature, when they seemed to be most hot and zealously transported, it might trouble them all, perhaps, what to answer. Last of all he assigneth another cause of deposition, *viz. When they oppress their Subjects in matter of Conscience.* Which indeed is the strangest of all; for who ever knew a *Calvinist* permit Liberty of Conscience to another man, whom he could compel to his own? and yet in this point he is so earnest, that unless the people do this, *viz. Resist the Superior Magistrate in the defence of themselves and true Religion*, he tells them *in conscientiis incolumes esse nequeunt, They cannot have true peace of Conscience*, They should offend God by not doing it. And in his Commentary upon Judges he speaketh yet more absurdly and dangerously

dangerously, *Magistratus Minor potest occidere majorem*, *The Inferior Magistrate in* this case *may kill the Superior*, Bayliffs, Sheriffs, Constables their King and Sovereign; or if they think fit, one another upon the quarrel of Religion, *because*, saith he, *Domestick Tyrants are more to be suppressed* or opposed, then *Forreigners*, or such as are *without us*. Neither was *Paræus* the onely Master of Paradoxes in that Country, (although it must be confessed, his Doctrine so corrupted the *Palatinate*, that in *England*, to prevent the like evill, his Books were purged by fire:) *Gracerus*, his Pew-fellow, teacheth, that *the Malice of Antichrist* (that is in his sense, the actings or zeal of any Catholike Prince for the true Religion established) *coercenda est gladio*, *must be resisted*, saith he, *or restrained by the Sword*. And *Aretius* himself sufficiently shews his affections to the Emperor & Christian Empire, when he teacheth that *the Dragon* in the Apocalyps, that is, the Devil, *Dedisse Imperio*

Imperio potestatem suam, &c. gave to the Empire its power and greatness; and that *plenitudinem Diabolismi, the Fulness of Diabolical malice and hatred against Christ dwelleth in the Empire.*

Nor are we to think, that this Doctrine was onely Speculative among them; it was the practise also of that pretended Church *ab origine*: Yea their own Neighbors and Elder Brethren have felt the effects of it, in much inhumane and uncivil usage from them. Ask *Gieskenius*, who was a man of Learning, and no small account among the *Lutherans*, and he will tell you one pretty exploit of theirs, *Emdenses Illustrem Dominum suum motâ seditione, &c. They of Emden*, saith he, *had by this time almost driven their Leige Lord out of all his dominions, by their seditious proceedings.* And that they rested not, till they had obtained these Articles of him, who was himself a *Lutheran*, *Ne Illustrissimus Comes, &c. That his Excellency should not* 2.

have power to grant unto his Subjects of Emden *the exercise of any Religion, but* Calvinism. 2. *That himself onely at Court may have a Preacher of the* Ausburgh-Confession. So it was matter of favor to him, that Subjects should tolerate their Princes Religion; but for themselves it must be framed entirely according to their own Mode. They must direct, and their Prince obey. If you object, that this was but a private tumult, and that the Church of the *Palatinate* did not approve of such proceedings against their Brethren, it is clearly answered by this, That in the year 1602. there were twenty points established in that Church; The first whereof was this, *Totus Lutheranismus & omnes libri eorum, &c. That the whole Doctrine of* Luther (opposite to Calvinism) *and all the* Lutherans *Books be for ever taken away and prohibited.* Neither are they permitted in any part of the *Palatinate*, the *Marquisate* of *Brandenburgh*, or the Territory of *Emden*. 'Tis true, The *Lutherans*,

Schulting. Hierarch. Anacres.

theranis, where they command, do as wisely provide against them; They have as little footing in all the Duke of *Saxonies* Countries, *Hamborough*, or the *Hans* Towns. That great Synod of *Torgaw*, convented by the means and procurement of those Protestant Princes, do testifie, *that the Calvinists* had troubled and brought to ruin *omnes Christianas Ecclesias*, *All Christian Churches*, *Universities*, *Kingdoms and States*, *where ever they were admitted*. And hence it is, that they are not included under the peace and protection of the Empire, *the Religions Vried* is no way permitted unto them; as appeareth by the Edict of *Charls* the Fifth, *De compositi. pacis*, &c. *Anno* 1532. Nor are they comprehended in his Sentence, *De confess. Suevicâ*, 1530. Nor in the Interim, 1548. Nor in the Constitution, *De pace publicâ*. And for the Acts made at *Passau*, 1552. by the Emperor *Ferdinand*, the very words exclude them from all benefit. So also in his Declaration at *Augsburgh*, 1555.

And in the conclusion or agreement of the Princes of the Augustan Confession, with the three Electors, and other Princes and Cities in the year 1557. it was declared, that the Sacramentaries, Anabaptists, Osiandrians, &c. were all excluded from the Articles of peace, and that there should be Edicts published against them by common consent, and for their utter extirpation. This was enacted in the year 1557. and in the year 1566. *Cæsar* and the Princes of the Dyet *decreto publico scripserunt, &c.* published a general decree concerning *Frederick* the Elector *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, *that he should desert the opinions of* Calvin, and *not suffer them to be taught in any of the Churches or Schools of his Country*: And this Decree of the Dyet was intimated to him in the presence of the Bishops of *Mentz*, *Treves*, and *Colen*, of the Elector of *Saxony*, and of the Embassadors also of the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*; and after his death, by his Son *Lewis* it was obeyed. In the same

year

year the Princes declare in their reply to the Emperor, *permittere se nolle, that they will not permit that any Sects whatsoever shall be harbored in their Dominions*; and that *they count the* Zuinglians *and* Calviniſts *for ſuch*, which was alſo long before declared, *viz.* in the Receſs of the Empire in the year 1555. *Calviniſm* then being ſo long before not counted tolerable in *Germany*, the *Bohemians* of late have made it much more odious and intolerable by their practiſes; and moſt juſtly are they excluded from the protection and benefit of thoſe Laws, Liberties and Peace, which themſelves would deſtroy, if they could prevaile; as the Sequel will ſhew.

Paraus and the reſt of the *Calviniſts* in the *Palatinate* were the Firebrands of the *Bohemian* War; they ſeduced the people, ſet the Princes at variance among themſelves, and caſt that whole Kingdom into a moſt deſperate combuſtion, though to their own ſhame and confuſion 3.

at last, as it it pleased God. I need not be very sollicitous, how to report the business aright; both the original of the War, as also its progress and success are so generally known by the relations of the *French* Mercury of *Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus*, and others, that there cannot easily be any false play used. But the long, many, secret practises and plottings about it were discovered chiefly upon the Battle at *Prague*, by intercepting the very Rolls and Records thereof. First of all in the *Secreta Principis Anhaltini Cancellaria*, printed in the year 1621. which certainly was no Fiction, as that *Catholicon* published against the Leaguers in *France* was; but a serious admonition, plainly and down-right making report, how things were carried, without any affectation or disguise; as a Treatise made rather to deliver Truth, then to shew Art. And hereof *Lundorpius*, an Historiographer of *Franckford*, must needs be thought an impartial witness;

ness; who sets down the Letters and Records themselves for some time, *viz.* so much of them as concerned the time of his writing. And afterward they were verified by *Cogmandolo*, who in his Treatise of like Subject, called *Secreta Secretorum*, avoucheth the same things. So that, there being no just ground, as I conceive, either of jealousie or doubt concerning this relation, I shall professedly upon that foundation build my cheifest reports concerning this business.

In the year 1608. this great Union did begin; The Cheifs whereof were the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, *Christian* Prince of *Anhalt*, and the Marquis of *Onolzbach*; Count *Mansfield* was a principal Agent, and in the year 1619. contrary unto, and in contempt of the Imperial Proclamations, Letters, &c. sent Two thousand men to the Aid of the *Bohemians* against the Emperor. Afterward they admitted *Joachim*, Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, to be as it were Vicar or Lieutenant 3.

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General of the League. They admitted also the Marquis of *Baden*, the Duke of *Wittembergh*, *Landsgrave* of *Hessen*, Duke of *Dupontz*, and *Strasburgh*, *Norimbergh* and many other Cities. All which contributed so largly to these Wars, as the Emperor never received the like Aid from them against the *Turke*. For as *Cogmandolo* testifieth, The several Taxes afforded by them from the year 1608 to the year 1619 amounted in the whole sum to no less then Four Millions, one hundred seventy six thousand, nine hundrd and seventeen Florens. The concurrence of so many Princes could not but argue mighty force; which was much increased by the Negotiations of *Mansfeld*, and *Nomarus* in *Italy*, (which *Nomarus* was *Baltazar Newwen* principal Secretary to *Onoltzbach*.) and of *Volrad Plessen* with the *Hollanders*; and of others with the Duke of *Bullion*, *Bethlehem Gabor*, and the Rebels of *Hungary*. And though they could not perswade the King

of

of *England* to enter into their League, for great and weighty reasons which he alledged, yet they hoped for some good assistance from the *Grisons*; and gave out also that the *Hans* Townes favored their Union. They omitted not to sollicit the *Venetians* also with much earnestness, as conceiving it to be their interest to keep the other Princes of *Europe* in balance, as much as may be, and to be jealous of the too potent Supereminency of any one; but what answer the Common-wealth gave them is not certainly known. The pretense of their Union was, that it was purely defensive, for the protection only of their Religion, Liberties and Priviledges. *Vetus Cantilena*, the old song, I confess, but who can beleeve them? Can it be supposed of *Anhalt*, that he took Arms onely for Conscience, having been so well beaten in *France* for it, both out of his Honor and Fortunes? or that Count *Mansfeld* is a man that fights onely for Conscience,

and Publike liberty, whose Trade and patrimony is the Sword, and who, braving the World most commonly with a running Army, more used to Pillage then Fight, Robs and Spoils all, where ever he comes? Besides, doth not *Achatius à Donau* write to *Anhalt*, *November* the Fifteenth, 1619. that the intention of *Bethlehem Gabor*, a principal Confederate, was *pied a pied*, by degrees, yet as closely as foot could follow, *to root out the Antichristian Papacy*, where he came? This was something more then to be onely defensive. And in the Union it self, which contains One and twenty Articles in all, although they say, it was onely their *Buckler* against the Catholikes *assaulting* them, yet do they not profess, *Art.* 2. to have intention to expel *Papism*, as they call it? and to preserve themselves from the Yoak of *Spain* and forreign Government? And doth not *Bethlehem Gabor* in his Letter to the *Turk*, profess also, how much he labors now, *Ut vasa*

Pax-

Pontificiorum Cohors, &c. that *those shaven Companies of Papelings* (so he calls the Catholike Clergy, and Religious,) might be utterly destroyed. This therefore was certain, had they prevailed, Catholike Religion long before this time had been extinct in those Countries, and Catholikes themselves banished, destroyed and gone. In order to this do they not decree among themselves, *Pag.* 43. to fall upon Church-men, and Church-goods first? *Pag.* 131. do they not resolve to invade some part of their Adversaries Country, (as they call the Catholikes, having first compelled them to be so, for their own defense?) and in particular do they not name and design out the Arch-Bishoprick and City of *Triers*, as lying fairest in their way, and being a Prince Electors Country, Catholike, and the Clergy rich? But their Noblest and Chief project was to invest themselves of two Crowns, (goodly booties indeed, if they could catch them, and

Temp-

Temptations fit for such high Spirits,) that is to say, of the Kingdoms of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*. The reason is given *Pag* 25. because thereby in the Assembly of Electors *they should be always Secure of a double Vote*. And therefore doth the Gount *Palatine* confess in his Letter to the Duke of *Saxony*, that he took upon him the Administration of *Bohemia*, among other reasons, principally for this, *viz. That by this means the Election of the King of the* Romans *might be hence forward in the power of the Protestants*. This was certainly a main part of their design, according to that which *Anhalt* writes unto *Donau* in *May* 1519. *That it were better the* Turk *were chosen to wear that Crown, then* Ferdinand; yea *Gabor* tells the *Turk*, that the *Palatine* and *Brandenburgh* were resolved *no longer to endure* Ferdinand, and that all those Provinces that were Confederate with them, *Corde & animo omnia officia fidelissimè præstabunt, were ready with heart and goodwil to tender*

tender all faithful services to his Ottoman Greatness, and the whole Nation of Turks; and that in a short time *Ferdinand* would surely be expelled out of all *Germany*, and forced to seek his fortunes in *Spain*. But O Monstrous! O Incredible! that such desperate malice and impiety should enter the hearts of any that profess themselves Christians! were it not, that the Records themselves be extant *fide publicâ*, which do assure us thereof even beyond contradiction, who could beleeve it? O Malice implacable! O Envy most perfectly diabolical! And O happy house, Family, Name of *Austria*, which for the interest of true Religion, and Constancy to Justice, deserveth to be made the object of such execrable Spleen, and to Combat perpetually with such odious and Antichristian Conspiracies. It is no new thing. But *Macte istâ virtute*; Be faithful to God, and to those principles of piety and justice descended from so many, so Religious, and so Renowned Ancestors,

Guicciard. Lib. 20.

ceſtors, and reign in ſpite of Hell, *ſo long as the Sun and Moon endureth.*

5. The Truth is, Ambition was ſo hungry with them, that they conſulted about dividing the Bears Skin, before the Bear was taken. They conſulted how they ſhould ſhare among them the ſpoils of the *German* Clergy, and of the houſe of *Auſtria*, before either of them was in their power. For as by their Chancery-rolls it is evident, Their intent was to advance the *Palatine* to *Bohemia*, *Alſatia*, and ſome part of *Auſtria*, enlarging his Dominion alſo with the Biſhoprick of *Spiers*, and a part of *Mentz*. *Bethlehem Gabor* ſhould be aſſiſted to keep *Hungary*, which afterward (this *Gabor* having no iſſue) might alſo probably fall to the *Palatines* lot. Too many Crowns here, you will ſay, to expect any in Heaven. *Onaltzbach* gaped for Two fat Benefices, the Biſhopricks of *Wirtzburgh* and *Bambergh* his Neighbors: and therefore was it agreed, that their Armies

Cancel. Anhaltina.

mies should Rendevouz in those parts. The Marquis of *Baden* thirsted after *Brisack*, and was willing by this occasion to continue his possession of the upper Marquisate, against the more just claim of the Count *Eberstein*. *Brandenburgh* expected the least of all, being content onely with a part of the Bishoprick of *Wirtzburgh*, which lay fit for him; But *Anhalt* intended to recruit both his purse and broken fortunes with the spoils of *Mentz*, *Bamberg*, and other Catholike places, as also with some Lands and Lordships, which were like to Escheat in *Bohemia*. If the *Venetians* would joyn with them, they might make themselves Masters of *Istria* and *Friuli*, and so *Oceanum cum Adriatico* (as their *Cancellaria* speaks) they might *joyn Sea to Sea*, and *Land to Land*, and carry all before them without controule. Such were the vast, but vain, designs of their Ambition and Avarice. But before we proceed any further, it may not be amiss to

examine

examine their Plea. It is manifeſt, their deſign in it ſelf was moſt pernicious, and ſuch, as (if it had taken effect, which God would not ſuffer) had been of general prejudice to the State of Chriſtendom, and not onely to the Peace of the Empire; which yet every one of the Princes Confederate were bound, in ſome relation or other, to maintain: beſide the ſubverſion of all Laws, which apparently it carryed along with it. Who doth not remember, how all the Pulpits in *England*, when time was, and generally of all the Reformed Churches abroad, founded the Alarme againſt the League and Leaguers in *France*? Which yet was not half ſo miſchevous as this, but was at firſt, ſet on foot quietly, without any ſedition or inſurrection, onely for defenſe of the Ancient Religion, always received and eſtabliſhed in *France*: yea confirmed with the Kings perſonal Oath and approbation. And though it were afterward continueed, and more

more ſtrictly proſecuted, upon occaſion of ſome horrid Actions of murther and tyranny, yet Monſieur *Villeroy* himſelf, (who was a wiſe man, and a great Royalliſt,) profeſſeth, that their aim was not the *Extirpation* of the King of *Navarre*, but his *Reformation*; and that if they might *be aſſured of his Religion* (which he had promiſed) he *ſhould be inſtantly aſſured of their obedience*: as in the concluſion it clearly appeared; every perſon in *France*, according as the King condiſcended to give them ſatisfaction in that point, entirely acknowledging their Allegiance to him. And the miſhap which befel him afterwards, was not in purſuance of the League, but upon a private account, not to ſay, upon ſome new provocation given, and which no man living juſtified. But as for this Union, it runs in a far wilder ſtrain, and is for the advancement of a *new Religion*, entirely diſavowed by all the States of the Empire in all their publike Acts. How then

then can it be otherwise then extreamly disloyal and criminous? The Duke of *Saxony* himself, though a Protestant Prince, disswaded it, and advised the *Palatine* very prudently, and like a friend, to quit *Bohemia*, and to seek for reconciliation and pardon, where as yet, he might possibly finde it. Beside it opened the Gates of the Empire to the *Turk*, which mischief alone, had there been no other going along with it, had been sufficient to condemn it. But *Plessen* confesseth in his Letter to *Anhalt*, That *it was an Action of the same nature with* Holland: and what that was, we have seen already. In brief they took arms against a King Lawfully Elected, solemnly Crowned, and established in possession by consent of the States. It is true, when they first went about the work, they nominated the Duke of *Saxony*, as Competitor with the *Palsgrave* for *Bohemia*; but that was meerly craft, and a trick of maliciousness, to render

render the Duke suspected with the Emperor. They knew he had rejected their offer and Confederacy long before, when their Agent the Count *Slick* sollicited him in their names. By this means they put *Austria* it self, the Emperors Patrimonial Country, into sedition; The people there through correspondence with the *Turk* and *Gubor*, were so bold as to tell *Ferdinand*, that unless he would grant them *Toleration, and such Liberty of Conscience as they desired*, they would joyn with his Enemies. And they were in this point as good as their words; For in the year 1620. all the upper *Austria* did really quit their old Lord, and submitted unto a new Protector in his stead. If the Catholikes of England should attempt the like, how would it be censured for sedition, and punished severely, as it might? and yet surely the cases are much Parallel, and if there be any advantage, it is on our side; who desire the exercise of nothing, but what was once publike,

like, owned for many ages together by all the people of the Nation, and legally established before us.

6. But nothing makes the Action more offensive and scandalous, then that *Anhalt*, and *Onolzbach*, two such private and inconsiderable persons, in relation to the business they dealt in, should take upon them (*inscüs Electoribus*, without the knowledge and consent of the Princes Electors themselves) to dispose of the succession of the Empire; and in order to effect this more then treasonable design, should Confederate themselves with one, who is a declared Enemy of the Emperor, and the *Turks* Vassal, a Reprobate, a Monster, called *Bethlehem Gabor*, and calling himself Prince of *Transylvania*, King of *Hungary*, and what not? one, who to hold himself firm in the *Turks* grace, had already delivered up to him the Town and Fort of *Lip*, the Towns of *Solimos*, *Tornadg*, *Margat*, and *Arad*, all well

well fortified places in *Hungary*; and labored hourly how to do him further service, to the prejudice of Christendom. One, who had sworn Allegiance to his Soveeign Lord *Gabriel Bathori*, Prince of *Transylvania*, yet afterward Traytorously murthered him, and usurped his State. One, who made a League with the Emperor *Matthias* in the year 1615. to be quiet, and to attempt nothing contrary unto the Liberties and Peace of *Hungary*; yet presently after invaded the Country in person with a great Army, took upon him the Crown, carried the Emperors Lieutenant *Andrew Dockzy* (whom he had caught by Treachery,) prisoner into *Transylvania*, banished all the Clergy, and maintained his Soldiers with the spoils of the Church, profaned the Cathedral Church at *Posen* with his own Heretical or Mahometan Chaplains, and from thence certified the *Turk* boastingly under his own hand, how successfully he had now begun the work, which

which he promised; that most of the Nobles of *Hungary* were under his command, and that since the Popes Clergy gloried to weare their Crowns shaven, he would make bold to shave some of them, heads and all. Upon which good news, and in expectation to turn all his Warres now upon Christendom, the *Turk* instantly makes Peace with the *Tartar*, and offereth *Gabor*, to assist him upon any occasion of need, with Forty thousand men. Yet, I say, upon this mans head did the Union resolve to set the Crown of *Hungary*; to which end his neerest Kinsmen lay all this time at *Heydlebergh*, as an Intelligencer, Treating with them, yet disguised under the habit of a Scholar.

Let now the impartial Reader cast his eye upon *Germany*, and see, as an effect of this wicked Combination, the picture of *Troy* on fire, that is to say, the lively image and horror of War. And when he hath done so, let him reflect, how well

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it would please him, to see the face of *London* and *Middlesex* so disfigured with wounds and desolation. That furious Zealot, who is now most forward to blow the Coals of dissention, and to inflame a State that is at quiet, would quake and tremble, when he should consider in what devastation all that once flourishing Country of the Empire now lieth, mourning and groaning by reason of this War. Those fertil Provinces about the *Rhine* all wasted, and impoverished by Soldiers on both sides, especially about *Worms*; Tillage forborne, Traffick decayed, Trades ceased, Taxes imposed, Fortifications raised at the charge of the Country; and for what? onely for defense and security of those, who oppress, or impoverish them; No man master of his own, all at the will of Soldiers and Strangers; and above an Hundred thousand persons reckoned to be slain. These are the effects and issues of this War, the fruits of *Calvinism*; which though

directly

directly prohibited by the Laws of the Empire, and onely tolerated by connivance, and the mercy of the State, yet was now come to such a point, that it sought to suppress the Emperor himself, and hazarded the subversion of the whole State, both Ecclesiastical and Temporal. An unchristian return doubtless, and without any stamp of Religion: Their *sole justifying Faith* will scarce justifie this, because it was with breach of Faith, and of so many civil bonds, and contrary to charity. The true marks of Charity are Humility, Patience, and Zeal perfectly conjoyned and qualified with the other two: Your little Patience, and less Humility do convince your Zeal to be no less counterfeit, then your Faith is fruitless. Charity would never have suffered you to invade the Duke of *Bavieres* Country, notwithstanding he was willing to have stood Newter, and onely because he would not joyn with you. Charity never counselled

ſelled *Anhalt* to deſign for pillage, and, as it were, to devour before-hand the ſpoil of a City, valued at Two and thirty Millions, as he did in his Letters to *Donau*, 1619. Charity never directed Chriſtians to ſeek aſſiſtance from the *Turk*, Chriſts greateſt enemy; nor to frame ſo many treacherous and malicious plots, as they did, *Pag.* 32, 42, 66, 80. of their *Cancellaria*, againſt ſuch as were either Neighbors, or Friends to them, or their lawful Superiors. What the Laws of the Empire are concerning ſuch proceedings, hath been ſeen above in the caſe of *Luther*, where they are ſufficiently condemned. I ſhall therefore add here one onely paſſage of *Leopold*, King of the *Romans*, in his Supplication unto his Father *Otho* the firſt, Emperor; who, becauſe he had broken the Peace of *Germany*, and called in Forreigners, *Membrum Imperii appellari non debeo*; *I ought not*, ſaith he, *to be accounted any longer a Member of the Empire,*

having brought in Forreign and Barbarous Nations into the heart of Germany. But these Minions of *Geneva* stand not upon the Law, it is Gospel that they plead; let the Gospel therefore condemn them. The Word of God saith, *Per me Reges, &c. Kings reign by me*; It is by Gods appointment, that they bear rule over men: Therefore forbear, ye people, shew reverence to the Ordinance of God, observe your distance, *Touch not mine Anointed.* The Gospel saith, *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, &c. And he that resists, resisteth Gods Ordinance, and shall receive damnation*: Yea, the Gospel saith, *Be subject unto every ordinance of man, viz.* That is established, and by which, the Will of Divine Providence may be seen, *For the Lords sake, whether to a King, as Supream*, or more Excellent, *or unto Governors, &c.* How much do the Doctrine of the Gospel, and the Doctrine of *Calvin* differ? The Gospel teacheth

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us to honor the King, to obey Governors, &c. *Calvin* directs us rather to degrade and depose them. But this is a matter needs no disputation; Grace and Honesty would decide it best.

Titulus Sextus.

STATISM,
OR
The Changes in ENGLAND About Religion.

1. AFter a tedious Voyage abroad, we are at last to look homeward, and to steer our course for *England*, where it must be confessed, no such Paradoxes are now current, or practises on foot, either among the Prelates, or any part of the inferior Clergy, I hope, as abroad we have both heard and seen. And it is no marvel; for now they have the wind with them, they live in a calm: There is no great tryal

tryal of their patience and temperature of Spirit, ſave onely what *Martin* Mar-Prelate and his Fellows do now and then give them. Being therefore in ſo great Peace themſelves, through the favor of the State, they were mad men, and ſhould forget their own Intereſt, if they did not Preach now very zealouſly againſt Tumults, and Diſloyalty in others. But if we look back unto times paſt, and obſerve what ſpirit reigned in them, when they were in a ſtorm, or that the State ſeemed to frown upon them; you will finde them much differing from themſelves, and that they were not always ſuch peaceable men, and ſo calmly ſpirited towards Authority, as now they ſeem. For if Maſter *Fox* doth Regiſter his Martyrs aright, and that *Wicliff* and his followers were Proteſtants (as Proteſtants will have them to be) there is cauſe of exception againſt them not a little. For firſt their opinion was, *That no Magiſtrate in the ſtate of ſin had any Authority*;

Which Position alone openeth as wide a gap to Rebellion and Resistance against the Civil Magistrate, as Hell it self can desire. And that we do not bely them herein, *Melanchon* himself confesseth. *Wicleff*, saith he, *was the cause of much tumult and trouble in* England; Qui contendit eos, qui non habent Spiritum sanctum, amittere Dominium, &c. *Holding that such persons as have not the Holy Spirit dwelling in them* (or are not in state of Grace) *do lose all Dominion and Authority*. And elsewhere, *Wicleff*, saith he, *was so mad, so to hold, That wicked persons are uncapable of Dominion*. *Osiander* witnesseth the same. And therefore though the same Master *Fox* calleth him, *Stellam matutinam in medio nebulæ*: *The Morning Star in the midst of a Fog, and the Full Moon of those times*; yet surely the mans judgement in this point was it self much befogged, and the *Moon* of his understanding suffered a great Eclipse. Secondly, It can as little be denied, but that in pursuance of this

Comment. in Arist. Politic.

De Jure Magist.

Cent. 9.

this Doctrine, and for defence of his person, and some other Heterodox opinions, which *Wicleff* taught, Sir *John Oldcastle*, alias Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Roger Acton*, and other his followers, levied an Army of Five and twenty thousand men, with intention, as our own *Chronicles* relate, to suppress the Monasteries of *Westminster*, *Pauls*, St. *Albans*, and to destroy all the Frieries in and about *London*: Which they had also effected, but that it hapned, the religious and valiant Prince, *Henry* the Fift, was at that time *in the state of Grace*, and exercised his *Royal Authority* so happily upon them, in Saint *Giles* his Fields (where their Rendevouz was) that they were all either killed or scattered, and about Seven and thirty of the principal of them executed. Sir *John Oldcastle* and *Acton* fled, but were afterward both of them apprehended, and attainted of High Treason; for which, and for Heresie, they suffered according to their merits. Master *Fox* laboreth much to excuse *Stow.*

or extenuate these things, but to no purpose; they being so palpably and undeniably true, That our *English Chroniclers* themselves, and other worthy Authors of our Country, do expressly avouch them. And certain it is, that in the first year of *Henry* the Fifth, Schedules were set on *Pauls* Church door, boasting seditiously of no less numbers, then One hundred thousand men ready to rise against such as were enemies to their Sect. Sir *John Oldcastle* being first committed to the Tower, for certain points of opinion concerning the Sacraments, which the Synod of *London* had condemned, brake out from thence, and was harbored by one *Bennet*; who for that fact, and for dispersing Seditious Libels against the King, was himself executed: And Sir *John Oldcastle* being the second time apprehended, was indicted in open Parliament, as an enemy to the State, but answered most contemptuously, and according to the Principles of his Sect,

Stow. Harpsfield. Histor. Wicliff.

That

That it was a trifle to him, to be judged by them, and *that he had no judge among them*, &c. At his death he ſpake more like a mad man, then otherwiſe, deſiring Sir *Thomas Arpingham*, that in caſe *he ſaw him riſe again within three days*, he would be good to thoſe of his Sect.

Yet, as it commonly happens, 2.
that Preachers of Novelty and Sedition do ſeldom want ſome Princes or other of the Temporalty, and great Perſonages to countenance them; ſo was it here. *Wicliff*, beſide ſome few of both the Univerſities, *Oxford* eſpecially, whom his Doctrines had caught and corrupted, found no mean Friends and Patrons even at Court. *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, openly favored him, ſo did Sir *Henry Peircy*, Marſhal of *England*; inſomuch that *Wicliff*, being upon a time ſummoned to appear before the Biſhop of *London*, both thoſe Perſonages, the Duke and Marſhal, with divers others of the Court, bore him company to *Pauls*, on

purpose to discountenance the Bishop, and to animate *Wicleff*, and his followers in their courses. It is confessed, the Duke and *Wicleff* had several ends: The first aimed to destroy the Liberties of the Church, and the Charter of *London*, both which he found to be great blocks and obstacles in the way of his ambitious designs; the other, simply to satisfie an envious Malignant humor, which possessed him, against the Clergy, desiring, if he could, to make himself famous by their infamy. But it is observable, the designs both of the one, and of the other, failed them: For *Wicleff* (as great a Protestant as they would have him) died a simple Parish-Priest at *Lutterworth* in *Leicestershire*, where he said Mass to his death; and was never able to obtain the preferment which he desired. And *John* of *Gaunt* lived to be accused publikely of many evil practises, prejudicial to Religion, and to the Nation, and in particular, of aspiring to the Crown; but his cheif

Doctor *Harpsfields* History.

Accuser,

Accuſer, *viz. John Latimer*, an *Iriſh* Frier, was, through the power of the Duke, committed to the cuſtody of Sir *John Holland*, as they pretended, in order to his Tryal. Howbeit the poor man, the very night before he ſhould come to his Anſwer, to prevent further trouble, was found ſtrangled in his bed, and that, as our own Chronicles report, by the ſame Sir *John Holland*, and one *Green*.

But to come neerer the preſent age, and conſider how obedient and loyal this ſort of men ſhewed themſelves in Queen *Maries* times. A time of Tryal, you will ſay, to ſome of them. True; but therefore moſt likely to diſcover their true *Genius*, and Spirit. Now it is manifeſt, That in the ſhort ſpace of Her Reign, which was not much above five years, ſhe had more open Rebellions and Inſurrections made againſt her, from ſuch of her Subjects as were not well affected unto her Religion, then Queen *Elizabeth* had from Catholikes, in full Forty and 3.

and five. How plain and sincere her Government was, how far from tricks, and such strains of policy, or rather iniquity, as were afterward used, is manifest to all the world. How great a Justicer was She? It will be said, Somewhat too severe; and it may be as truly answered, That severity was necessary, not onely by the judgement of Parliament, which a little before had Enacted those Laws, upon which she proceeded, and before which she acted nothing in that kinde: But also in respect of her own safety, and of the State; against both which, that sort of men, which tasted of the severity of those Laws, were not a little insolent, and prone to attempt. Yet that she was withal a Princess very merciful, is manifest by her compassion shewn to such, as deserved not well of her; that is, To the Dutchess of *Somerset*, to Sir *John Cheek*, who had been the principal corrupter of King *Edward*, her Brothers Infancy; to Sir *Edward Montague*,

Montague, Lord Cheif Justice, who had both counselled and subscribed to her disinheriting, to Sir *Roger Cholmley*, to the Marquis of *Northampton*, to the Lord *Robert Dudly*, to Sir *Henry Dudly*, to Sir *Henry Gates*, *&c.* who stood all of them attainted, and the Duke of *Suffolk*. All which persons were very obnoxious to Her Justice; she knew very well, they neither affected Her Religion, nor Title; They were already her prisoners in the Tower, yet she released them all. But for all this, the Zealots of her time would not be quieted, nor suffer her to enjoy any quiet; They Libel against the Government of Women; they pick quarrels and murmur at her marriage; they publish invectives and scurrilous Pamphlets against Religion; yea, they forbear not to conspire and plot Her Deprivation, out of a desire to advance Her Successor to the Crown, under whom every *Calvinist* expected a Golden Age. The austerities and abstinences, which

Catholike

Catholike Religion prescribed, and which the Queen, by Authority of Parliament, had but lately reduced, and was her self very exemplary in the observation of them, were not much pleasing to some Gallants about the Court; nor to many others, both in City and Country, whose affections were better satisfied with the Liberties of the former Age, and therefore desired some change of this. But among other Instruments of mischief, that Book written by *Goodman*, intituled *Of Obedience*, was a most pernicious Incentive among the commons, teaching expressly, *P. 94. That Queen* Mary *deserved to be put to death, as a Tyrant and a Monster.* And that other of *Knox*, with whom the Zealots of *England* did correspond too much, where he hath, among many other of like nature, this passage: *Illud audaciter affirmaverim, &c. This I dare boldly say,* saith he, *the Nobility, Magistrates, Judges, and whole people of* England, *were bound in Conscience, not onely to oppose and with-*

Ad Nobil. Scot.

withstand the proceedings of that Jesabel Mary, whom they call their Queen, but even to have put her to death, and all her Priests with her.

After this, Sir *Thomas Wyat* takes up Arms (for which Master *Fox* worthily Chronicles him) marches his Army, like another *Cyrus*, as some called him, over *Shooters-Hill*, threatning both the Court and the City, Prince and People. And for this, *Goodman* in his Book *Of Obedience* commends him, saith, He did but his duty, and that it was *the duty of all who professed the Gospel to have risen with him.* This was their doctrin then: And though it be said, That *Goodman* recanted his opinion in Queen *Elizabeths* days, it was (perhaps) onely that part of it, which opposed the Government of Women. And if he did it *absolutely*, what doth it prove, but the inconstancy of such men, and how easily they can conform themselves to times that favor them, and of what spirit they are under the cross and affliction? *Wyats* pretence was parti- 4.

particoloured, looking, as he would seem, both at Religion and *bonum Publicum*, in his opposing the Queens marriage with *Spain*; as both *Holinshead* and *Stow* agree. They that suppose it to have been meerly upon a civil account, are confuted by the Queen her self in her Speech at *Guildhal*, where she tells the City, That she had sent divers of her Counsel to *Wyat*, to demand the Reasons of his Insurrections, and that they found, *The busineß of the marriage was onely a cloak to cover Religion*, which was the thing principally aimed at. For he urged also to have the Tower delivered to him, to have power to nominate and chuse new Counsellors, declaring plainly, *That he would not truſt, but be truſted.* But Master *Fox* is plain in the case, for he confesseth of all that Rabble which followed *Wyat*, *That they conſpired among themselves for Religion, and made* Wyat *their cheif.* The marriage was looked upon by them onely as an accessory thing, and

and a means to ſtrengthen that which they meant to overthrow, and *eo nomine*, for that reſpect onely it was to be hindred. Upon this account *William Thomas* a Goſpeller of thoſe times, conſpireth to kill the Queen, and at his death is ſo far from repenting of ſuch a foul intention, That he glorieth *to die for the good of his Countrey*: Yea, the Faction grew ſo tumultuous and bold, That Doctor *Pendleton* was ſhot at in the very Pulpit, Preaching at *Pauls*, and Maſter *Bourn* had a Dagger thrown at him in the ſame place; the multitude being ſo diſorderly, That the Lord Major himſelf had much ado to quiet them; and the Lords of the Counſel were forced to come thither the next Sunday with a guard, to keep things in order, and to prevent further combuſtions which were feared. At *Weſtminſter* upon *Eaſter-day*, a deſperate fellow wounded the Prieſt, as he was at Maſs in Saint *Margarets* Church there. After this they found out a *Perkin Warbeck*, and

and brought him upon the Stage; one *William Fetherſton* counterfeiting King *Edward*, (whom the world, and ſome of themſelves eſpecially, knew well enough to be dead) on purpoſe to amuze the Queen, and diſturb the State. There was one *Cleber*, ſometimes a Pedant, living at *Yakeſly* in *Norfolke*, put to death for a conſpiracy againſt the Queen; *Udal*, *Staunton*, *Peckham* and *Daniel*, were committed for the ſame crime: for which, and for attempting to rob the Exchequer, and her Treaſury, and alſo for Hereſie, they had their deſert. Not to ſpeak of the Treaſons of *Dudley* and *Aſhton*, ſet on by the *French*; In *Devonſhire* Sir *Peter*, and Sir *Gawin Cary*, great Proteſtants, together with Sir *Thomas Denny*, took arms to impede King *Philips* arrival in *England*, poſſeſſed themſelves for ſome time of *Exceſter* Caſtle, but afterward, ſeeing things go contrary to their expectation, they made an eſcape by getting over into *France*. *Thomas Stafford*,

Stafford, coming well instructed from *Geneva*, made Proclamations publickly in several places of the Kingdom, that Queen *Mary* was not lawful Queen, was unworthy to reign; and, to abuse the people further, gave out no less boldly, then falsly, that already Twelve of the best fortified places in *England* were committed to the *Spaniards*. Upon which pretense *Bradford*, *Proctor Strowdly*, and he, surprize the Castle of *Scarborough* in *Yorkshire*, a Fort of singular strength, which they would hold against the *Spaniards*, (they should have said, *against their Queen and Sovereign*,) but they lost it, and their heads beside. *Henry* Duke of *Suffolk* (one to whom the Queen had given life before, being Father to the Lady *Jane*, and a privy Counsellor in those Treasons of *Northumberland*,) fled into *Leicestershire* with the Lord *Gray*, making Proclamation against the Queens marriage; but not being able to raise a Commanding Army, as he hoped, was compelled

pelled to flie and lurk in corners; Till the Earl of *Huntingdon*, apprehending him, brought him up again to his old lodging in the Tower; where he made an unfortunate end. I shall not urge the practises of Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, a man of great wit and policy, notwithstanding he was Indicted of high Treason, and arraigned at *Westminster*, with *Arnold*, *Warner*, and others; because though the case were plain, yet the Jury acquitted him, but to their own cost and trouble. And it was well for him, the Advocates of those times desired not so much to triumph in the calamities of poor men, nor that the prisoner should loose his head, rather then they their oration, and the glory of the day.

5. But, say some, there were no Ministers had any hand in those tumults, none of them were Trumpeters to Sedition at that time. What was *Goodman* and *Gilby*? Were not they Ministers? Was not

Jewel

Jewel a Minister, who preacht at *Gloucester*, against the Queens proceedings? Was not Doctor *Sands* a Minister, though Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, when he walkt about with the Ragged Staff, and assisted the proclaimers of Lady *Jane*? Were not *Hooper*, *Rogers*, *Crowly* Ministers, all enrolled as friends and favorers of these actions? And were there not divers other Ministers, both of *Kent* and other Counties, who upon *Wyats* fall, forsook the Realm? or was there any thing more likely to drive them out, then a guilty Conscience? what shall we say of those two Apostles (*falsly so called*) of the time, *Cranmer* and *Ridley*? Were not they Ministers, yet great instruments of the Queens troubles? And that not in King *Edwards* time onely, (upon which account some would excuse them,) but after his death, and under the Reign of Queen *Mary*. For *Ridleys* Sermon of *Pauls* Cross, wherein (like another infamous *Sham*)

he

he so highly magnified and defended the Title of Lady *Jane*, and perswaded the people to accept and obey her as Queen, impugning, against all honesty and conscience, the right of King *Henries* two Daughters, was the Sunday after King *Edward* was dead. And 'tis well known, the Reign of a Prince commenceth (not from the time of his Coronation, but) instantly upon the death of his predecessor. And therefore was he justly attainted and convicted of Treason. *Cranmer* was both Counsellor and Oracle in the business, and was therefore arraigned, and condemned with the Lady *Jane*, and *Guildford Dudly*, as contriver and principal assistant in that Treason, as appeareth by the Records in the Kings Bench. This man was a very *Protean* in all his actions, and of a disposition most servil, and vitiously plyable to any humor of the King, and ready always to follow the prevailing party. He was first a principal instrument

ſtrument of the Kings divorce from Queen *Katharine*, whereby the Court Gates were ſet open to the Lady *Anne Bolen*; yet afterward to ſerve the Kings Appetite, he was uſed again, as a chief inſtrument in her condemnation, as appears by the Statute; where *Cranmers* Sentence is recorded judicially, as of his own knowledge convincing her of ſome fowl act. Nor can any wiſe or indifferent man but condemn him of inexcuſable iniquity, that being a Counſellor of State, Primate and Metropolitan of the Realm, pretending alſo to be a Reformer of Religion, would ſo much betray his Maſter, (whoſe creature he was,) as to fruſtrate and make void his will, (whereof himſelf was made chief Executor,) ſubſcribe to extinguiſh his iſſue, as much as poſſibly he could, by diſinheriting his two Daughters, and transferring the Crown to another Line and Family: and all this moſt baſely, and contrary to his conſcience, onely to pleaſe a Subject,

28. *Hen.* 8. c. 7.

and

and to avoid some kinde of affliction, which he feared upon the Succession of Queen *Mary*, and against which, 'tis manifest by the frequent changings, lapses, relapses and perjuries, which he made, he was never well armed.

6. It is manifest therefore, that in all places, at home as well as abroad, this Spirit of Reformation hath ever been, and is seditiously pragmatical and dangerous unto Princes and States, whersoever it getteth footing, and is not countenanced and advanced so far, as to bear all the sway it self. It is in this onely respect (not in any other) like the Motto of her, who meerly for temporal and worldly ends, made her self the great Patroness of it, that is, it is *Semper Eadem*, always the same, and never changeth. This was it, which induced them of *Genevah* to expel their Bishop and Leige-Lord; This was it, which induceth them of *Swethland* to renounce their lawful King; Them of *Holland* to depose their

their Soveraign Prince; This was it, which Solicited the *Bohemians* to depose the Emperour, their Elected, Crowned, and Acknowledged King. That Imprisoned the most Vertuous and Religious Queen and Martyr, *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, and cast her undeservedly into those calamities, which pursued her to death; This was it, which held out *Rochel* and *Montauban* in defiance against their King; and lastly, that which begat so many conspiracies, commotions, and causes of jealousie unto Queen *Mary* of *England*; &c. as within the space of Sixty years, it hath been observed. More Princes have been deposed and persecuted by Protestants, their Subjects, upon the quarrel and difference of Religion, then had bin by the Popes excommunications, or by the attempts and practises of any Subjects Catholikes, in Six hundred before. Of the troubles which have arisen to other Princes upon this occasion, we have spoken somewhat already.

The business of *Sweden* is defended by one Master *T. M.* upon these grounds. First, *That it was done by the demand of the whole State.* But this is a manifest falshood. For if you take *the whole State, formally*, that is, for all the people of the Nation, it is certain that *Sigismund* their lawful King, had not only a great, but the far greater and better part of the people, well affected to him: If you take it *Virtually*, that is, for some general Assembly representing the people, legally met and resolving upon that business, there never was any such called. The meetings that were, were onely of Duke *Charls* his faction, who, in comparison of the Kings party both of Nobility and Commons, were but few; yet, as it often happens, the better cause was more negligently managed; and those for the Duke (who were also inclined to Innovation in Religion,) being more active, industrious and unanimous in their design, made haste to secure the Military provisions, and

to

to invest themselves of the chief Strengths of the Kingdom before the others, and so prevailed; as *Chytræus* himself a Protestant Author is sufficient witness. Secondly he saith, *it was for the defence of their Priviledges and Liberties.* None of which were violated, as by the same *Chytræus* appeareth. Thirdly, *that it was for the fruition of Religion*, That's true indeed and confessed; That they might introduce and establish a *new Religion*, they renounced their *old King*: which is the thing we charge them with; and wherein whatsoever they did, they did by private Authority and Faction. *Chytræ. Continuat. Crantzii.*

It shall suffice therefore to send this Master *T. M.* for his better instruction, unto a great Doctor of his own Church, Doctor *Bilson* above mentioned, who, as we have heard before, holdeth it *tantum non*, as an Article of Faith, that *Princes are not to be deposed*; which is also the judgement of the greatest Doctor of the *English* Church, and 7.

hath been so, for these Fifty years and upwards. But we demand of them, is it good Doctrine in the Reign and case of Queen *Elizabeth* onely? and not so, in the Reign and case of Queen *Mary*? It is a position frequently defended in their own Schools, *Dominium non fundatur in gratiâ*; and the contrary Doctrine is as generally exploded in *Wicleff*. The difference then of Religion alters not the Authority and power of Jurisdiction. And *Wyat* with his complices rising in Arms, without and against royal Authority, was a Rebel against Queen *Mary*, as much as *Westmorland* and the rest with them, whom the *English* Chronicles mention, were Rebels in rising against Queen *Elizabeth*. But you will say, Queen *Mary* observed not the Laws of the Realm, she abrogated the Statutes of the First of *Edward* the Sixth, which all the Kingdom approved; and 'tis the profession of good Princes to observe the Laws, and to govern by them. I answer it is true, *Legibus*

ribus se Subjectos esse, &c. it is a most Christian profession of all Kings *to be subject to their own Laws*; but it would be understood *cum grano salis*, soberly, and to refer more to *the directive* part or power of them, then to the *corrective* or *punitive*: especially in criminal cases, if any such should happen; lest the remedy should prove worse then the disease, & the reparation of a private person turn to the ruin of the publike, which is contrary to reason & the end of government. Beside in Princes we may consider their *private Acts* (as I may so cal them) of Government, which consist in *the Executive part* of their Office, *viz.* in administring or dealing justice betwixt man and man, and in seeing, so far as the Law or reason requireth of them, that all men under them live well, and according to their several duties; in *these Acts* the Prince may be justly supposed to be bound up to the Law, and that he ought not to do otherwise then the Law prescribes. But who ever accused Queen

Mary of breach of Law, or misgovernment in this sense? Happy had it been for some of her Successors and this whole Nation, if they had affected arbitrary Government and Rule, no more then she did. Secondly, we may consider in Princes their *more publike Acts*, which concern all their people in general, and consist in the *Legislative part* of their Office; and in these they are Free, they are absolute, unlimited, and bound to nothing, but only to proceed upon such advise, as the Constitutions of their several Governments do require: that is, most commonly (and as is best,) upon advise and the consent of their whole people represented and giving them Counsel in Full Parliament. I say, in this capacity the Prince is bound to no Law, but the Law of Reason and a Good Conscience; as to all other respects at liberty to enact or abrogate, to make or repeal what Laws he shall think fit, and most likely to procure publike good,

good, upon such advise given. And did not Queen *Mary* so proceed? Did she do any thing, but by publike consent, advise and supplication of her people in Parliament? Beside, if Queen *Mary* should be so subject to her Brothers Laws, as not to alter them upon any reason in a legal and due manner, why was not Queen *Elizabeth* so subject to Hers? And, why was not King *Edward* the Sixth himself so subject to the Lawes of his Father? Why were they altered, and that in his Minority too? When he was a Childe, and understood no more, in things of that nature and consequence, then a Childe? you will say, The Religion, which Queen *Mary* brought in, was corrupt and impure, That of her Brother before, and of Queen *Elizabeth* after her was pure, and according to Gods word. But this is your assertion onely; we say still, That you proceed upon a false supposition, that presumptuous wilfull conceit rules the greatest part of your

your roll. That thing *viz.* Whether Queen *Maries* or Queen *Elizabeths* Religion were best, is the grand question betwixt us: And as it is certain, that it was never yet by any general and orderly Counsel, no not of Protestants, determined on your side; so we are sure, and the world, together with your selves know, it hath been often, legally, solemnly determined for us, by all sorts of Counsels, Provincial, National, Oecumenical. And we pray, what reason can be given, why the Judgement of Parliament restoring Catholike Religion under Queen *Mary*, with the consent and advise of the chief and best of the whole Clergy of the Nation, should not be as good, as that, which under Queen *Elizabeth* aboliſh'd it, not only contrary to the Queens Oath taken at her Coronation, but without the advise or consent of so much as any one Bishop or spiritual Prelate of the whole Kingdom, whoyet in a business of that nature, *viz.* concerning

ning Religion, were by all Laws, both of * God and of the Nation principally to be consulted with. * *Malach.* 2. 7. *Heb.* 13. 7. 8, 17.

But let us gratifie our Adversaries, as much as may be; Let us suppose the worst, *viz.* that Queen *Mary* had indeed erred in the introduceing of some kinde of superstitions, ought she therefore presently to be censured by Ministers? or deposed and put down by a *Wyat*? God forbid. *Solomon* himself, a wise and a great King, did fall into grievous sins, and particularly into the grossest of those kinds, whereof they presume to censure Queen *Mary*. He had many Hundreds of strange Wives, contrary to the Law of *Moses*, and by reason of them fell to Idolatry beyond measure. The Queen never took but one Husband, and he a Catholike Prince, of the same Religion with her self, and with the whole Christian world beside, except onely some few Provinces, which Heresie had lately corrupted. Yet neither 1.

did the Priest or people take upon them to depose such a King as *Solomon*? They left him to him, who is the Supream and most proper Judge of Kings, and who, in the time appointed by his Divine Providence, raised up *Jeroboam* to chastise him in his Son. Yea when *Julian* himself, of a Christian Emperor, became Apostate, and persecuted the Christians of his time with all maner of vexation and cruelty, which either policy or malice could devise, neither the people, nor the Pastors of the Church, (though they sharply reproved and inveighed against his proceedings, yet none of them) took up Arms against him, none went about to deprive him either of Dominion or Life. And if they thought it not expedient or becoming Christians to do so against a Tyrant, acting Tyrannically, and onely by the violence of his own exorbitant passions, without any order or colour of Law, and as no just Prince ought to govern, how much less would

would they have thought it lawful, and how little would they approve it to be done against such Princes, as govern legally, and do nothing concerning Religion or otherwise, but according as the Laws and and publike Constitutions, of their several Kingdoms do direct and inable them to do. He that proclaymed the Prerogative of Kings in these terms *Vos Estis Dii, I have said, Ye are Gods*, surely intended to teach the world rather a lesson of obedience then rebellion. And there is no Prince or State in the world, Let them countenance what Sect, or Profession of Religion soever, they please, but shall finde it, at one time or another, a necessary Bulwark for them to retreat unto against the inundations of popular fury. Who doth deny, but that it is necessary, that the governments of all Princes whatsoever should be regulated and moderated by Laws? and that all persons in Authority do observe all rules whatsoever, that are proper for

for them, or prescribed to them, by those to whom that power belongeth. We pretend not, to enhaunce the Authority of Princes so far, as to exempt them from the rule of Law, or to make them Arbitrary in their government; but this we say, *Vos Estis Dii*, in relation unto Princes, and all Persons established *in Supream Authority* justly, that is, by the will of Divine Providence, and consent of the people, is a great exemption of them from any popular Cognizance. For what does it intimate, but that* Allmighty God himself hath made them *Gods unto the people*, that is to say, persons of Knowledge, Experience, Foresight, Care, Providence, and other abilities Intellectual (which are the natural and genuine principles of government) competent and sufficient for the government of people, (who are not otherwise, generally speaking *Et pro majori parte*, able to govern themselves in civil society,) and for their preservation in peace and

* *Egodixi.*

and quietnes, which is the end of Government. We think, it is most proper for God onely to say *Transferam Regna de gente in gentem.* Revolutions of Governments and Translating of one Kingdom to another are the Extraordinary Dispensations of Divine Providence, and for reasons onely known unto his supream and secret wisdom. Which although they be acted, that is, brought to pass by the hands of men, yea through their infirmities and many times blamable passions, as experience often sheweth, and as in the case of King *Rehoboam*, the Son of *Solomon*, (1 *Reg.* 12. 16.) may seem plain; yet are not the common people licensed hereby to run upon any irregular designs of their own head, and to renounce their Governors headily and hastily of themselves, for every light grievance and misgovernment, that may seem to afflict them. To remove Tyrants and oppression from a people is the work of Divine Mercy,

cy, but it is of his justice to permit them to oppress; and from him only must they expect deliverance, abiding in the mean while with patience, until his Divine hand shall appear, leading them to such means, as they may with justice and good order use to the procuring of their liberty.

The

The Second Part.

JERUSALEM,

OR

The Obedience, Loyalty, and Conformity OF CATHOLIKES unto Publike Order.

HItherto we have insisted onely upon the Doctrines and practises of those, who call themselves Reformed Churches, or Protestants, in the charge of Rebellion and Tumult against the Civil Magistrate; by which, how tolerable and quiet they are in any Kingdom or State, whose Religion 1.

Religion is not framed according to their Mode, the indifferent Reader will judge. It remaineth now, that we make good the contrary, concerning our ſelves, and ſhew, that thoſe vertues, (which we pretend to be the true and proper Characters of our Religion) viz. Humility, Devotion, Obedience, Order, Patience, &c. are more generally and more conſtantly exerciſed by Catholikes, in times of Tryal, then by any other Sect or Sort of people whatſoever. This we intend to do, but not ſo much Theoretically, or by way of any long and ſpeculative diſcourſe, as Practically, Hiſtorically, and by way of inſtance, ſhewing what the behavior and practiſe of Catholikes have been in this caſe, upon occaſions given. Neither ſhall we range far abroad into the world, becauſe that would be leſs pertinent to our main purpoſe, (which is onely to juſtifie our ſelves in this point, ſo far as reaſon and truth will give us leave,) and enlarge

our

our discourse beyond its intended bounds: But we shall content our selves onely with domestick examples, and that experience, which the Catholikes of this Nation have given of themselves, from time to time in this kinde.

What kinde of people they were anciently in this Land, in the time of King *Lucius* and the *Brittons*, I shall not need to relate, but refer you to the Ecclesiasticall Historics of those times; the rather because the *Centuristes* of *Magdeburgh*, and Master *Fox* in his Acts and Monuments will have these Catholikes to be Protestants and of their Church: which, (though it be very false, yet) I may not ingage for the cleering of that point now. Nor shall I insist any longer upon those times of the *Saxons*, after they were converted to Christianity, to shew their vertues and singular devotion towards God: and how happily, by means thereof, the Church and Common-wealth did grow up together unto that perfection 2.

perfection of Spiritual and Temporal glory, which they injoyed under that Blessed Prince and Saint, King *Edward* the Confessor. I shall not tell you, how highly the good Prelates of the Church were then reverenced by the people, nor how much their holy Counsels and Authority did conduce to the happy government of the State. It sufficeth, that many old *Saxon* Laws and other Monuments yet upon record, Venerable *Bede*, and the Stories of those times, with other Modern Authors are witnesses of it beyond all exception. From King *Edward* the Confessor downwards to King *Henry* the Eighth, there is no man of judgement will affirm, or thinketh, that any other Religion was known in *England*, but the Roman Catholike, that is, the same, that had been long before planted here by Saint *Austin* and those *Good men* his followers, who were sent hither to convert the *English-Saxons*, by Saint *Gregory* the Great, Bishop of *Rome*: for which

Lamb. Archaion. Camden. Spelm. Concil.

charity

charity towards our Nation Doctor *Whitaker* giveth him thanks, and profeſſeth, *it was a great Benefit, and for ever moſt gratefully to be remembred.* In all which time although the Clergy made Canons, and managed all things pertaining to Religion, by an Authority of their own, that is to ſay, given them by God, and derived to them from an other origin, then that of the State or Supream Magiſtrate Temporal; yet never did the Kings of this Realm finde them generally otherwiſe then obedient unto their Government, and ready to ſerve them, in ſuch capacity, as the Laws and duties of their function permitted, and to contribute their beſt aſſiſtance to the ſupport of the Eſtate Royal, and of the Kingdom wherein they lived. It is true, through the malice of the Devil and inſtigation of ſome Enemies of the Church, ſome of them, for the aſſerting of their legal Immunities, and to preſerve the Liberty of their ſpiritual Juriſdiction entirely

entirely Free, as it ought, they were driven now and then, (yet very seldom, in comparison of such a long tract of time, as we instance in,) unto some vehement and earnest contestation with their Princes, and though much further then was pleasing to them, yet, I suppose, not beyond terms of due respect, and the Authority of their Function: much less did they endeavor to stir up rebellion, or instigate the people to sedition and commotions against their Princes; nor did they ever, upon their own account solely, concur in any thing of that nature.

3. The first King, that ever gave cause in this Kingdom, effectually and in the face of the world, to trie the admirable patience, obedience, and loyalty of Catholikes, was King *Henry* the Eighth, *Flagellum Dei*, that scourge of God, to the Church of *England*, and all good Catholikes therein; yet outwardly professing the same Religion in most things with Catholikes. This he did first by a pretended Accusation

Accusation of the Clergy, to be fallen in a *Præmunire*, because (*Scil*) they did that, which all their predecessors the Bishops and Clergy of *England*, for many Hundreds of years confessedly, had done without any exception taken, *viz.* for acknowledging the power Legantine of Cardinal *Wolsey*; which yet the King himself for his own ends, and in his own case, had first of all procured. 2. upon the Statute of supremacy. And 3. by suppression of the Abbies. These were his Three first breaches, by which the Foundation, strength, and glory of the Catholike Church in *England* became afterwards utterly ruinated. By the first his way was levelled to the Second; and the Second obtained, gave him power and authority to compass the Third. By the First indeed onely the Clergy smarted in a fine of an Hundred thousand pound; The second lay heavy upon the Clergy and Temporalty both. But by the Third, *viz.* the suppression of the Abbies and

and Religious houſes, if we conſider the infinite prejudice, which the poor Commonalty ſuffered thereby, both in point of ſpiritual and temporal intereſt, the whole Kingdom might be ſaid, to be worſe then conquered by him, that is, Robbed, Spoiled, Enſlaved to the exorbitancy of his ſole Will, Prodigality, Luſt, and Tyranny. And all this done to be revenged on the Pope, who condeſcended not to humor him in the buſineſs of his marriage. Therefore, and to advance his own power and greatneſs, That Authority and Juriſdiction, which had alway been acknowledged, as ſacred, by the *Engliſh*, ever ſince the *Engliſh* were Chriſtians, muſt in a moment be abandoned, diſclaimed, abjured; himſelf by an unheard of and fatal Ambition inſtead thereof, made *Head of the Church*: and all perſons who out of ſcruple of Conſcience, refuſed to conform to ſuch grand, ſudden, and ſacrilegious Innovations, and to ſwear they knew not what,

what, were cut ſhorter by the head, executed at Tyborn, impriſoned, baniſhed, and put into ſuch condition, as he was ſure, they ſhould not oppoſe him.

The ground of the *Præmunire* was at firſt onely a quarrel, which he pick't againſt the Cardinal *Wolſey*, but afterwards ſtretched it upon the Tenters, and made it reach the whole Clergy, who being thereupon Summoned into the Kings Bench, the buſineſs was ſo aggravated there by the Lawyers, *The Kings Learned Counſel*, that in the Convocation houſe, they preſently concluded to ſubmit themſelves to the King, and offer him no leſs ſum then One hundred thouſand pound for their pardon. This was look't upon by the Chriſtian world as a Prodigy, That ſo many Shepherds ſhould be afraid of one Wolfe: And though it becomes us not hear to cenſure, whether they did as they ought, yet certainly this weakneſs of the Paſtors boded no good to the Flock; and it is 4.

obſerved

observed, that neither themselves, nor the Church, nor Religion ever prospered in *England* afterwards. However the King accepts of their offer, and signs their Pardon; but with a fetch far worse then the first. For under a pretence of procuring this Pardon to be confirmed to them in Parliament, he draws them in there (how willingly or unwillingly, let the world judge,) to acknowledge him *Supream Head of the Church*. It was a course, even at that time, not thought agreeable to Justice or Honor. For, as we said, the Cardinal *Wolsey* had the Kings License for the exercise of his Legantine power, both under the Kings hand, and the Great Seal of *England*; and was employed by the Kings particular Mandate and pleasure, in the quality of Legat to sit with the other Legat, Cardinal *Campegius*, and examine the business of his marriage. And could the Divorce have been granted according to the Kings minde, it is easily conjectured,

conjectured the Cardinal had never been queſtioned for his Legat-ſhip. Touching the Second of Supremacy, All the Subjects of *England* ever acknowledged that the Crown and State of *England*, *quoad Temporalia*, in Temporal affairs and matters is independent of any other power, but of that Tranſcendent Majeſtie, which ſaith, *Per me reges regnant*; and this to the intent, that Kings and all Governors, conſidering, who will one day take their *Audit*, may be more careful to rule with Juſtice and common equity, without partiality, paſſion, prejudice againſt any mans perſon, further then his crimes againſt Publike Order, Common Right, and the Peace of the State ſhall make him obnoxious: and by ſo doing may keep their accounts ſtreight, againſt the *day of Account*. And on the other ſide that Subjects remembring their duty, and who it is, that layeth this *jugum ſuave*, the ſweet Yoke of good

Government upon their Shoulders, might be induced to obey with more fidelity, and prompt affection. But the Question, which King *Henry* (the first of all Kings, Princes or States of Christendom) propounded to his Clergy and People in Parliament, concerned matters purely Spiritual, and wherein, not himself onely and his Subjects at home, but all Christian Kings, Princes, States, and people in the world, were concerned. And therefore required far greater deliberation, I say not, then was used, (for in truth that was little or none at all; the Kings pleasure and resolution was known, and that, as the world went then, was sufficient:) but, I say, then could possibly be used in *England*; which was then but one single Kingdom, and a small Province of Christendom.

5. And for the suppression of the Abbeys and Religious houses, by that Act and this other of Supremacy together, the Clergy of *England* were brought absolutely into Captivity

Captivity, and stood meerly (as they have done ever since) at the pleasure of the King, and of the State. Their Possessions (the greatest part of them) were seized, their Goods forfeited, their Churches profaned and sacked, and upon the spoils thereof, together with the sale of the Vestments, Chalices, Bells, and other the Moveables and Ornaments belonging to them, the *Augmentation Court* was erected. For the King seeing this extraordinary passiveness and submission of the Clergy, could never think he had power sufficient, till he had more then enough; and therefore having already discharged his conscience from all Bonds, but such onely as himself should think good to tie, he took liberty to commit such outrages and violence upon Sacred things, as no age before him, nor since can parallel. For first, *viz. Anno* 27. of His Reign he appoints the Secretary *Cromwel*, and Doctor *Leigh* (as his Commissioners) to visit the Abbyes; and they, by

vertue of their ſaid Commiſſion, firſt take out all the Plate, cheifeſt Jewels and Reliques belonging to thoſe houſes, and ſeize them to the Kings uſe: Then they diſmiſs all ſuch perſons Religious, as were under the age of Four and twenty years, and had a deſire to be at liberty in the world, *Anno* 28. All the ſmaller Religious houſes, of the value of Two hundred pounds *per annum* and under, were given to the King by Parliament with all their Lands and Hereditaments; and of theſe the number was not leſs then Three hundred ſeventy and ſix, who were able to diſpend *per annum* to the benefit of the poor and ſervice of the Publike, not leſs then Three thouſand two hundred pounds of old Rents of Aſſize, beſide their Moveables: Which being undervalued and ſold at mean rates, yet amounted to above One hundred thouſand pounds. The Religious themſelves, and all people depending on them, (which were not a few,) were on a ſudden outed,

outed, and left unprovided even of Habitation; above Ten thousand persons; for no particular crimes charged or proved against them, turned out of their own doors, and driven to seek their fortune, where they could. A thing which compassionated the very common people themselves; (though not a little alienated in their affections at that time, towards Monasticks, more then they were wont to be;) to see so many persons compelled to Beg and live by Almes, who by their bountiful and constant Hospitality had formerly relieved many.

Anno 30. of His Reign some of the greater Abbies, *viz. Battle*-Abby and the Abby of *Lewis* in *Sussex*, *Martin* Abby in *Surry*, *Stratford* in *Essex* were suppressed, and all things belonging to them converted to the Kings use. For indeed they were forced in some sort to proceed thus politickly in their work of desolation, and to carry it on by degrees, by reason of the Com-

monalty; who, though they ſtirred not, yet they ſtood amazed, as it were, murmuring as lowd as they durſt, and were not a little unſatisfied at ſuch doings. But in the years 32. and 33. generally all the Monaſteries of *England*, of what value ſoever, went to wrack, and were deſtroyed; The Lands belonging to Saint *John's* of *Jeruſalem* were likewiſe given to the King, and the Corporation of thoſe Knights quite diſſolved: Though to turn out theſe with ſome kinde of contentment, there was, as ſome ſay, certain Penſions during life diſtributed among them, to the value of Two thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy pounds. In *Anno* 37. was the laſt ſweep, which King *Harry* made. For then all the Chauntries in any part of the Kingdom (which were many and numerous) All Churches and places Collegiate, yea the very Hoſpitals (which were built and endowed by their ſeveral Founders, onely, and expreſly

for

for the relief of the poor,) were yet given to the King, and permitted wholly to his order and disposing. The value of Church Lands in *England* at this time amounted to above Three hundred and twenty thousand one hundred and eighty pounds *per annum*; and of it the King took into his own possession, and apropriated to the Crown to the value of One hundred sixty one thousand one hundred pounds yearly rent: The rest, it seems, was sold, or exchanged, or distributed among Favourites. Lastly, to abuse the poor Commons perfectly, and more easily to wipe them of those great and constant advantages, as well Temporal as Spiritual, which they received from these Religious places while they stood, a proposition is made in Parliament by the Projectors and Sharers in this worke, and 'tis given out also to the people abroad, That out of the Revenues of these Lands thus given to the King, a standing Army, for

defence of the Kingdom and all other Military occasions of State should be maintained, of no less then Forty thousand men, besides Forty Earls, Sixty Barons, and Three thousand Knights for the Command and Conduct of this Army, where need should be: So that the Commons of *England*, by this means, should never, heare of Tax or Subsidy any more. This indeed was as pleasing a bait for the people, as could be devised, and it took accordingly: They bit willingly at it; But the Hook sticks in their jaws to this day. Such a motion as this (to note in a word by the way) was made in that Parliament of *Henry* the fourth which they called *the Lay-mens Parliament*, by those which countenanced *Wicleff*, and loved the Lands, far better then they did the Religion of the Church: But their designs at that time were defeated by the Stout and Religious opposition of *Thomas Arundel* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and other Prelates

lates joyning with him. Though now there were an unfortunate and unworthy *Thomas* found, (yet sitting in that Seat of *Canterbury*) ready to side with them for his own carnal ends, and to countenance the *Wicleffists* of these times, that is, those *Lutheran* and malicious Spirits, who by their Libels, (*The Supplication of Beggars* well answered by Sir *Thomas Moores Supplication of Souls*) and other wicked practises, went about to destroy the Church, and extripate true Religion.

Adde here unto the Kings natural Inclination to vain glory, which was very great, and begat those prodigal expences, which he used towards his Favorites and Flatterers: And these could not be long maintained but by extraordinary support; which being not to be had in any way of Legality and Justice, Avarice at last, and many other vices, which he was fallen to, prompted him to fall upon the Church. The Lords and Courtiers 7.

could not dislike the motion, knowing what a rich Prey would fall to be divided among them. Especially this pleased the principal Secretary of State (afterward Lord Privy Seal, Lord High Chamberlain of *England*, and Earl of *Essex*) who being a man of great experience, and of a deep reach in worldly policies, knew full well, that such a confused Innovation as this, and so full of Spoyle, would be infinitely advantagious to him, and a Ladder, to clime at ease unto what Wealth or Honor he could wish. He therefore instigates the King with all might and main to go through with the Action, and to stand stoutly to his Prerogative and profit, knowing his conscience was already buried in *Anne Bolens* Tombe. To this end, and the better to pave the way to his evil designs, (Sacrilege and Blood not seldom going along together,) Three of the principal Abbots of the Kingdom, and Barons of Parliament, *viz.* the Abbots of *Glastenbury*, *Reading*,

Reading, and *Bury*, Stout, Vertuous, and Religious men, and likeliest to oppose such practises, were taken away before hand, being condemned and executed upon the Statute of Supremacy; as well to prevent the Bishops mediating for them, as to terrifie the other Religious of the Kingdom from opposing the Kings designs.

But may we ask, *quo jure*, *quo titulo*, by what colour of Law or Right was this suppression of the Abbies made and done? I cannot tell, what it may do now, but certainly to have mov'd such a question then, it would have cost a man his head. It is certain, these Abbies held their Lands in *Frank Almoigne*, and in Fee, They were quietly possessed of them by the Donations and Guifts of many *Saxon*, *English*, *Norman* Kings, Princes and other Subjects, who were their Founders; continued legally by prescription in them; admitted, acknowledged and established by all Laws; beside the accessory

Charters

Charters of many ſucceeding Princes, who confirmed them, and moſt commonly added to them. They held all their Lands, Immunities and Eſtates by the ſame Laws, Authority, and Right, by which the Temporal Lords held their Baronies, as *Magna Charta* 9. of *Hen.* 3. and the confirmation thereof 28. *Ed.* 1. do abundantly teſtifie: where it is granted, *that the Church of* England *ſhall be Free*, and have *all her Liberties* preſerved to her *inviolable*. Chap. 2. any Judgement given againſt them is declared to be Null and Void. And chap. 4. The Biſhops are ordered to Excommunicate all ſuch, as ſhall ſeek to infring thoſe Charters; as alſo they did 30. *Ed.* 1. including all thoſe, that ſhould either make, or procure to be made any Statutes contrary to thoſe Liberties. Whence we may note Two things, The Firſt, that as Excommunication is the higheſt puniſhment, which can be inflicted upon a man *Spiritually*; ſo the State cannot declare its deteſtation

teſtation and diſlike of any crime more then by requiring or ordering ſuch a puniſhment for it. The Second, That as by one and the ſame Charter, both the Church and the Temporalty held their Liberties; ſo that which gave, or pretended to give, the King power to abrogate and deſtroy the one, could not, in point of reaſon or juſtice, but make the other obnoxious. In the Leidger-book of *Peterborrough* are to be ſeen all King *Johns* Grants and Confirmations more fully and at large, then they are ſet forth in any Printed Book. Let any man but read them ſeriouſly and with attention, and he will wonder at the proceedings of later times. What need I remember that ſame Law called *Sententia lata ſuper confirmatione Chartarum* by *Ed.* 1. or the 42. of *Ed.* 3. chap. 8. where it is declared that any *Statute whatſoever* made contrary to *Magna Charta, ſhall be void.* or the confirmation of all theſe in 1, 6, 7, 8. of *Rich.* 2. and in 4. of *Hen.* 4.

All

All which good Laws were intended ſurely to prevent Sacriledge and Tyranny in ſucceeding times, and to ſecure both Church and people from the encroachments of injuſtice.

The King knew very well he had no Title to any of theſe things, but by colour and conceſſion of Parliament; (and how far a Parliament hath power to give away the Lands or Intereſts of a Third Perſon, neither heard nor convicted orderly of any offence, that ſhould deſerve ſuch ſentence, is a thing to be conſidered: Surely, is it not?) Therefore to make his Title appear ſtronger in the eye of the World, *Anno* 31. of his Reign, he procureth an Act to be made in Parliament, expreſſing, how that ſince the Act of *Anno* 27. the Religious Houſes themſelves had *voluntarily, and of their own good wills, without conſtraint*, in due courſe of Law, and by writings of Record under their Covent-Seals, given and confirmed to the King, their Lands,

Lands, Houſes, Rents, Revenues, and all Rights whatſoever; yea, to this Statute they are ſaid to conſent, as to an Act of their own ſeeking and ſuit; and you may ſee among the Records of the *Augmentation Court*, a great Cheſt full of particular Surrenders, made by the Abbots and Covents under their hands & ſeals to this purpoſe. But is it not a likely tale, that out of their *bounty* and *good will*, they would renounce their Livings, and become beggars? Indeed unto ſo gracious a Prince, as he was become towards them at that time, it was the leſs marvail. I my ſelf did once deliver my purſe upon *Salisbury*-plains; and though I could not commend the honeſty of thoſe that took it, yet was I fain for a while to complement their humanity towards me, that they uſed me no worſe. You will ſay, how then came it to be done? why would the Abbots, and other Religious give away their Lands, if they were not willing? I anſwer, becauſe they could

hold

hold them no longer: They saw themselves generally deserted and forsaken by the Commons, and knew very well what the King was resolved to do, by that which he had done already. And therefore to make some petty accommodations for themselves, perhaps by granting or renewing of Leases, or otherwise, (which the King for his own ends, *viz.* to make the work more plausible and easie, was content to connive at, and which, we may be sure, came not to much) they thought best to give that which they were otherwise sure to lose. And by doing so, rather then by using any kinde of contestation, they shewed the simplicity of their obedience to be such, as became their Holy Profession; and the King shewed, how little he feared God, or regarded his Honour in the censure of the World. Whosoever therefore considers the business impartially, shall finde this great conquest of Religious Persons to deserve little Triumph; and that the augment-

augmentation of Revenue and Treasure by it, being so palpably Sacrilegious, and contrary to all acknowledged Law, Divine and Humane, proved to be *Aurum Tholosanum*, a curse to him that took it, and upon which the judgement of God hath visibly attended ever since.

Nor is it strange, that it should; for first, what saith the Scripture? *Is it not a curse to him that devoureth sacred things, and after vows to make enquiry?* And what saith History, and the experience of all Ages? Did ever Sacrilege go unpunished? *Marcus Crassus* robbed the Temple at *Hierusalem*, but is not his sad and disastrous end noted by *Josephus*? *Herod* likewise opened the Sepulcher of King *David*, and took thence much spoil; but into what great miseries and misfortunes he fell afterwards, the same *Josephus* relateth. *Urraca*, a Gothish King, going to rob but one Chappel of St. *Isidore* in *Spain*, and that in a case of necessity too, as might be pre-

10. *Prov.* 20. 25. *Lib.* 18. *C.* 8. *Lib.* 16. *C.* 11.

pretended, *viz.* to defray the charge of war, and to pay his Army; yet his very guts burst out of his belly in the Church-porch, as the History saith. *Leo* the Fourth, Emperor, taking a precious Gem out of the Coronet of St. *Sophia* at *Constantinople*, which had been dedicated to it, died himself not long after of a Carbuncle. *Sigon. de regn. Italiæ, Lib.* 1. So *Gondericus* King of the *Vandals*, when he took *Sivill*, took also the spoils of the Churches, and seized upon all their riches; but, to revenge it, the Devil seized and possessed him. *Tarapha. in Honorio.* What need I alledge more? *Julian* the Apostate was also a Church-robber, most tyrannical and notorious, but his end is well known. And so it is, what misery befell *Heliodorus*, the Treasurer of King *Selencus*, for the like crimes, though but attempted, against the Sanctuary at *Hierusalem*, 2 *Maccab. chap.* 3. *Nicephorus Phocas* the Emperor was the neerest parallel to King *Henry* that we meet with in all

Histor. gen. of Spain.

Tripart. Histor. lib. 6. c. 31.

all the Eccleſiaſtical Story. For he reſumed all donations that had been made unto Monaſteries and Churches in his time; but ſuch afflictions and furies haunted him for it ever after, that his Succeſſor *Baſilius* (though himſelf none of the beſt Emperors that have reigned) was yet careful to abrogate thoſe Lawes of *Phocas*, among the firſt Acts which he did, and as the root of all publike calamities of thoſe times.

Nor did indeed King *Henry* himſelf finde any better ſucceſs to attend his impieties. Did he not, (like that ſacrilegious *Herod* mentioned before) live jealous of his Wives, and not confident, even of thoſe his Friends, which he had ſo much enriched with the ſpoils of the Church? His exorbitant luſts, which were the original cauſe of all the miſchief, became at laſt his torments. For after his Divorce from his firſt and lawful Queen *Katharine*, no wife could pleaſe him long; few of them could get protection 11.

for

for their heads, and none of them all live long either secure or joyful. Beside, did his Exchequer thrive any better for the Augmentations? Was his Treasury any whit better furnisht, then his Predecessors before him, Catholike Princes, and Favorers of the Church? Nay, was there ever King of *England* more necessitated then he was in point of Treasure, and that immediatly as it were, and in very few years after those great spoils? Did ever King of *England* before him lye more heavy upon his subjects in matter of Taxes, Subsidies, Loanes, then he did after that? Did ever any of them use more ignoble and unprincely wayes to raise money then he? Our own Chronicles, and the much base money which he coined, doe sufficiently shew how things went with him in that regard. But that which may seem most of all to be noted, as an argument of Gods displeasure against him, was the frustrating of that, which was pretended to be his chief project and design

design in all those frequent marryings and unmarryings, *viz.* Succession and Issue. All his hopefull Stem and Branches have been taken away one after another without Issue; and some of them but unhappily too: And his Crown and Scepter translated, much contrary to his intentions, unto another Name and Nation, God suffering him, as a blinde man, to erre in his ends, and wander in all his courses. Yea all that great Treasure, which he raked together upon the ruins of the Church; how was it employed? How spent, but in the excess of vanity and evil? Neither to any honour of the Realm, nor to the ease of his subjects, nor to the maintenance of souldiers, nor to the relief of the poor, (all which were pretended mainly when the business was to be done) but in Tiltings, Triumphs, Mummeries, Masquings, in pleasing and enriching his Mistresses, and to satisfie the greedy appetites and expectations of those sollicitors

tors of his Lusts. In a word, *Bulen*, and Prodigality consumed all. And touching those who were thought to be the occasion and chief instruments of these disorders, that is to say, Cardinal *Wolsey*, and the Lord *Cromwel*, when they had served his turn sufficiently, and were grown rich, they were themselves, upon pretended, and but light occasions, taken, with disgrace and misfortune turned out of the World, leaving their Estates at his mercy. And for himself, when he had wearied his subjects with a long, chargeable, and inglorious Reign, and that he found his soul, as much oppressed with the guilt of innumerable heinous sins, as his body was become unweildy and troublesome to others, through his excessive intemperance, he died, as some good Authors say, desirous to repent, and to be reconciled to the Church; but what effect his desires had, (which we wish might be to the saving of his soul) is only known to God.

Thuan.

But

But what course think we would the *Lutherans* of *Germany*, the *Calvinists* of *Genevah* and *France*, the *Brethren* of *Scotland*, have taken in this case? What would they have done, should they have found themselves at any time oppressed, abused, robbed of their Rights and Interests, and harrassed with injuries, as the Catholikes of *England* were, by such a Tyrant as this? Yet the Catholikes took all patiently, made no mutinies, raised no tumults, no insurrections that were considerable, or generally owned. It is acknowledged even by our adversaries, that these Abbyes and their Dependants were almost the third part of the Realm, men of understanding, power and interest, their Revenues great, their Tenants many and rich; They were not a little favored also by the people, for their constant Hospitalities and good House-keeping among them, well esteemed likewise generally amongst the Nobility and Gentry. Besides, the Knights of St. *Johns* of *Jeru-* 12.

Jerusalem (who found themselves in the same *predicament* with the rest) by their Fraternities and Interests abroad, might have procured great troubles to the King, especially by the Pope and Emperors assistance; yet to shew the world what they were, to give an example of *the patience of true Israelites*, and due obedience of good Subjects; yea, to imitate, in some sort, the Divine pattern of their Masters meekness, they resolved rather to endure Gods just punishment upon them, in the Kings great injustice, then to Arm themselves into the Field, like so many *Lutherans*, *Calvinists*, or *Geuses*, against their lawful Sovereign, having no lawful order or authority so to do. The Arms they took up, were not *Zuinglius* his Sword, nor *Beza's* Pistols, but the ancient, and most proper Arms of true Christians, *Prayers and Tears*, Submission, Resignation, Patience under the rod of God, and of a wicked King. I shall add this onely Argument more, of the incon-

inconveniences which followed upon these proceedings of the King, and of the provocation which Catholike people had under him, if it had been possible to be put into disorder, *viz.* That although the number of Gentry were somewhat encreased by the suppression of Abbyes, and alienation of Church Lands, yet the Rents of Lands were presently, and very much enhaunced thereupon, Inclosures were set on foot, Depopulations generally made, the price of all things raised, to the extreme detriment of the poorer sort of people ever since, as the Protestants themselves complained; and the Yeomanry infinitely decayed, who before this were accounted, and found to be upon all occasions, the Honor and Strength of the Nation. *Ascham. Epist. ad. Protect.*

Titulus Secundus.

1. HItherto Schiſme, and Sacriledge annexed to it, chiefly reigned; but the ſecond plague was the utter ruin and extinction of Religion. For by abuſe of the name and authority of King *Edward*, the very Church it ſelf was entirely ſubverted, Religion abſolutely changed, Hereſie introduced, and eſtabliſhed in the full, open, and publike profeſſion thereof: And we might ſay, the craft and malice of the Devil, whoſe work it is to corrupt true Religion, & confound States, herein moſt perfectly appeared. For though indeed the way to Hereſie, and all publike diſorder, were ſufficiently levelled and made plain by King *Henry* the Eighth, (who onely, by reaſon of his greatneſs, and imperious cruelty, was fit to begin ſuch a work) yet

yet Religion it ſelf was ſuffered to ſtand a while longer, at leaſt in the general and more viſible parts of it; he knowing well, that all could not be effected at once, and that it was neceſſary for him to ſeduce States, as he doth ſouls, *gradatim*, by degrees, opportunity, and ſucceſſion of time: And being alſo confident, that if thoſe forts of Piety, and true Chriſtian-Catholike Devotion, that is, the Religious Houſes, were once razed, the Church in *England* brought under a Lay head, and by conſequence the ſheep made Governors of their Shepherds, he ſhould eaſily upon a ſecond attempt there, and by ſome other hand, overthrow Religion it ſelf.

King *Henry* at his death had appointed by will ſixteen Executors, who, during the minority of his Son, King *Edward*, ſhould be, as it were, his Guardians and Counſellors, for the better governing of the Realm. Among theſe, one, (who made himſelf afterward Prin-

2.

cipal) was the Lord *Edward Seymour*, Earl of *Hartford*: who being the Kings Uncle by the Mother-ſide, procured himſelf in a ſhort time to be made Protector; and by that means gat, as he thought, a diſpenſation from his Joynt Executorſhip with the others, and demeaned himſelf now in all things concerning the Affaires of the Realm, as their Superior. A thing which King *Henry* leaſt of all intended, rather he had provided, with as much caution as was poſſible, againſt the encroaching of any one upon the reſt, under any title or pretence ſoever. But this was the way to bring about ſome further deſignes, intended by that Party, which advanced the Protector to that dignity, and which the other, and more honeſt part of the Councel, did not, either ſo providently foreſee, or ſo faithfully reſiſt, as they ought to have done. One of the firſt things which the Protector ſet on foot, after the Protectorſhip was ſecured to him, was Innovation

on of Religion, aboliſhing the *Old* Catholike, and introducing a *New*, under the title of Reformation: Not ſo much out of any great preciſeneſs that was ever obſerved in him, or devotion that he was thought to have, more one way then another, but becauſe he was thirſty, and deſired to drink to the bottom of the Cup, which in King *Harries* time it ſeems he had but onely taſted. There was yet ſome Game in his eye, which he intend-to bring into Toyls, *viz.* ſome few remains of Church-Lands, Collegiate-Lands, and Hoſpitals, which he could not compaſs, or draw into poſſeſſion, by any Engine better then that pretence of reforming Religion. *Cranmer*, that unworthy Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, was his Right Hand, and chief Aſſiſtant in the work, although but a few months before he was of King *Harries* Religion, yea, a Patron and Proſecutor of the Six Articles. To this end, *viz.* the more to amuze the people, and, as they

thought, to give some strength and countenance to what they meant to set up, a couple of strangers, Religious men indeed by profession, but such as were long since run from their Orders, that is, *Peter Martyr*, and *Bucer* must be sent for as far as *Germany*, and placed in the Divinity Chairs at *Cambridge* and *Oxford*: That the world might see, how contrary, not onely the Pastors of the Church and Clergy, but even all the learned men in both the Universities, and of the whole Kingdom generally, were to his proceedings. By these two Apostate Friers, together with *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *Latimer*, and some others, was a new Liturgie framed, and the old abolished, together with that Religion, which had been so many hundreds of years observed in this Nation with great happiness and honour. The Protector, though powerful of himself, by abuse and pretence of the Kings name, in all things which he did, (although the King were but

but a Child of nine years old, was yet well seconded by the Duke of *Northumberland*, and by the Admiral his onely Brother, by the Marquis of *Northampton*, &c. all of them persons (seemingly at least) much inclined to Reformation, and by them he overbore all the rest that opposed him, or were any thing contrary to his designs: As there were many, both eminent and wise men, and equally intrusted in the publike affairs with himself, could things have been carried rightly; in particular, the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord St. *John* of *Basing*, Bishop *Tonstall*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, and that wise Secretary Sir *William Paget*; but most especially, the Noble Chancellor, the Lord *Wriothsley*, a man of singular experience, knowledge, prudence, and who deserveth to be a Pattern to his Posterity, far to be preferred before any new Guides. But being made Earl of *Southampton*, though it neither won him to the Faction, nor contented, nor secured him,

yet he ſtood the more quiet, and made no great oppoſition to their doings.

3. All things now grew to confuſion, there remained no face, nor ſcarce the name of Catholike Church in *England*; and though there were great multitudes of men well affected to the old Religion, and diſcontented, that the Church ſhould be thus driven into the Wilderneſs, and forced to lurk in Corners: Yet did they ſhew loyalty, obedience, and love to the publike Peace notwithſtanding. They took up no Arms, they raiſed no Rebellion, not ſo much as againſt the ſhadow of a King, or the uſurper of his Royal name. The Protector in the mean time goeth on with his work, which is principally to enrich himſelf with the Remains of the Church, having long before, as 'tis ſaid, taſted the ſweetneſs of ſuch Morſels in the Priory of *Aumesbury*. He now ſeizeth two Biſhops houſes in the *Strand*, and of them buildeth *Somerſet*

merſet houſe, which, as the world ſaw, quickly reverted and ſlipt out of his hands. After this he procureth an Act to be made, whereby all Colledges remaining, all Chantries, Free Chappels and Fraternities were ſuppreſſed and given to the King. And how greedily he entered into the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* his Houſes and Manors, that Church will never be able to forget; Notwithſtanding that Biſhop *Bourn* afterward by his induſtry recovered ſomething, but nothing to the ſpoiles and waſt, which was made. Nor was he ſatisfied with this; For ſhortly after contrary to all Law, to King *Henries* will, and againſt his own Covenants; (thoſe I mean, which he entred to his Advancers, when they made him Protector,) He committed the Lord Chancellor *Wriothſley* to the Tower, depoſed Biſhop *Tonſtal* both from the Counſel & from his Biſhoprick, *viz.* of *Durham*, as thinking it a ſeignory too Stately for a man of Religion. And therefore he diſſolved

it, and brought it within the Survey of the Exchequer, that is, into his own power; but, as it was observed, he never prospered after. However the Act it self was most inexcusably unjust and tyrannical, being so directly contrary to Law; as appeared, beside what hath been alledged before, by 1. *Ed.* 3. chap. 2. where the King declareth, *That the Lands of Bishops ought not to be seized into the Kings hands*, and that what had been done in that kinde in his Fathers days, *was by advise of evil Counsel*, and *hereafter should not be so*. But his sins now grew towards ripeness. Therfore having also deprived and committed Doctor *Gardiner* the Bishop of *Winchester*, dissolved the Colledge of *Stoke*, fleeced all the Cathedral Churches in *England*, and added unto the guilt of Sacrilledge many other outrages, oppressions, and crimes, under the Nonage of a Pupil King, without any check or opposition, save onely in the business of the Earldom of *Oxford*, which

which he was not able to devour, as he desired; at last, in the midst of his carriere, and after he had sentenced and put to death his own and onely Brother, the Lord Admiral, chiefly (as 'tis supposed) upon the instigations of an ambitious or malicious Wife, he was himself arraigned for High Treason, and ill governing of the Realm, (as may be seen by the Articles of his Attainder in *Stow*) and thereupon condemned and executed on the twenty second day of *January*, in the year of our Lord, 1552.

When the Brothers were gone, *viz.* the Protector, and Admiral, *Dudley*, Duke of *Northumberland* comes upon the Stage; a man, whose ambition and policy, though unperceived, had ruined both of them, but especially the Protector, whose chief Adversary he was, and the principal contriver of the Charge against him, which in brief referred unto these Heads. 1. *That he had subverted all Laws.* 2. *That he had broke the orders appointed by King*

King Henry *the Eighth for his Sons good.* 3. *That he held a Cabinet-Councel: and by it transacted the publike and chief Affairs of State, without the advice of his Fellow-Counsellors.* 4. *Lastly, That he observed not the Conditions upon which he was made Protector, which were, to do nothing in the Kings Affairs without consent of the rest of the Executors.* Upon these Rocks the Protector perished, not without the manifest judgement of God, for much injustice, which he had committed in the time of his Government, especially in the business of Religion, and of the Church: and *Northumberland* for a while prevailed. This man (though he were all otherwise in his heart, yet) thought fitting to seem a little more precisely religious, then the Protector, intending thereby to assure himself of the affections of such people, as were more Zealously affected to new Religion. The Protector, looking onely at present proffit, cared to humor them in that point

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no further, then might serve his own turn: But *Northumberland* had other designs in his head, which were no less, then to advance his own Family to the Crown, and to ruin the right Heirs. And therefore to ingratiate himself more with the Common people, in the year 1552. he causeth the Liturgy or book of Common prayer to be the second time Reformed, and Purged of certain ceremonies and orders, offensive to that sort of people, which he desired to please; and so to be published. This project stood him in much stead: among others of the Nobility it gained him the Duke of *Suffolk*; who from henceforward seemed wholly to be at *Northumberlands* Devotion, and to steer his course after the others compass: Being a Potent man, and the greatest Precisian of those times; unless perhaps they dissembled (both of them) upon the same account. But because the Lord Treasurer *Paulet*, Marquis of *Winchester*, was more

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like to croſs, then comply with them, therefore it is reſolved to remove him out of the way. And to that end *Northumberland* obſerving, that it was the Treaſurers cuſtom, ſitting at the Counſel Table, if at any time he were ſuddenly called up to the King, to make ſuch haſt, that he commonly left his Spectacles behinde him, he procured them once to be ſo ſweetly anointed and perfumed before his return, that at his next putting them on, they coſt him his Noſe, and ſcaped very narrowly with his Life; which yet with much adoe was ſaved, and the Treaſurer lived to make the Duke his good friend, ſome part of requital, as the event ſhewed.

5. Not long after this King *Edward* falleth ſick, whereupon (deſignes growing now to maturity) the Duke procures his Son *Guildford Dudly* to be married to the Lady *Jane Grey* Daughter to the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, one who had a remote title to the Crown: But they

they meant to advance it by their power, The Lady her ſelf being alſo ſtudiouſly affected to the Proteſtant Religion; and for that reſpect they doubted not to finde favors and aſſiſtants enough: But therein their count failed them. At the ſame time the Earl of *Pembrokes* Son was married to the Lady *Katharine*, another Daughter of the Duke of *Suffolk*; And the Earl of *Huntingdons* Son to one of *Northumberlands* own Daughters: All which marriages were ſolemnized upon one day at *Durham* Houſe in the *Strand*; And after them King *Edward* lived not long. It is ſaid that the Apothecary who poiſoned him, for the horror of the offence and diſquietneſs of his Conſcience, drowned himſelf; and that he Laundreſs, which waſhed his Shirt, loſt the Skin of her Fingers: But this is certain, there are ſome yet living in Court, who can tell, how many weeping Eyes they have ſeen for the untimely and Treatcherous loſs of ſuch a Prince. But the pretence

See *Heyward* Hiſt. *Edw.* 6.

tence and zeale of Religion, which these men shewed, did so overshadow all things for a time, that not many could discern their impiety. The Oration which *Northumberland* made to the Lords in the Tower, when he was upon his departure for *Cambridge*, to proclaim his Daughter in Law Lady *Jane* Queen, doth shew, what a Fox he was, and how far he could both descend and dissemble to compass his ends. Howbeit in his way the Justice of God met him. For the people (the *Suffolk* men especially) sticking faithfully to the right Heir, and their lawful Sovereign Queen *Mary*, he was quickly deserted by all men, apprehended, and received at Tower-hil the due reward of his Treason, and other sins, with the loss of his head. And so we see those two Lords of Misrule, or Reformation, if it must be called so, that is to say, the Protector Duke of *Somerset*, and this man Duke of *Northumberland*, Born (both of them) for the Scourge and ruin

Goodw. Annals.

ruin of the Catholike Church in *England*, by a juſt vengance of Heaven, proved at laſt, as it were Butchers and Executioners of one another, undid their ſeveral Families, and endangered the whole Realm: The ones Ambition, The others Avarice deſtroying him. Yet of the two the calamity of the Protector muſt, in all humane judgement, ſeem moſt diſaſtrous. For 'tis certain, through his own weakneſs and the importune inſtigations of his Wife, he was compelled to ſerve the deſigns of his greateſt Adverſary in the world, by putting his own brother to death. And after that living to ſee *Bologne* loſt, and the Crown, through his Miſgovernment engaged in many debts, wants, and trouble, he laſt of all ended his days fatally, and without any ſhew of repentance for thoſe ſins, which brought him to that end. Whereas in this reſpect *Northumberland* was far more happy. For having in all humble and penitent maner acknowledged his offences

offences to the Bishop of *Worcester* Doctor *Heath*, his Ghostly Father, and thereby reconciled himself to God, and to the Communion of his Church, at the place of Execution, (not out of design, or hopes of life, as some would malitiously asperse the action, but willingly, freely, of his own accord, and out of conscience, as himself protesteth at his death) he made another most Christian and publike acknowledgment of his Faults, especially those which concerned Heresie, Sacriledge and Treason: in all which he confessed himself to be most guilty. *And thereupon used much and vehement exhortation to the people, to beware of those Preachers of New Doctrine, who had filled the Kingdom with so many false Opinions and much trouble: Assuring them plainly and openly concerning himself, that whatsoever he had professed or done in that kinde, proceeded wholly from Covetousness, Ambition, and other evil Motives not worthy to be named, and not from any perswasion of Judgment*

or

or Conſcience, which he ever had that way. And therefore admoniſhed them, that they ſhould willingly return to the Communion of Gods Church, and keep themſelves conſtant in the Catholike Faith, and true Religion. Which for Conſcience ſake, *ſaith he*, I onely tell you, and that I may thereby, in ſome ſort acquit me of my duty, and ſave my ſoul, and not for any humane or temporal motive, expectation, or hope whatſoever. *And ſo died.* The Oration it ſelf, out of which this is extracted, may be ſeen at large in *Schardius*, a Proteſtant chroniciſer of note, in his hiſtorical collections; and elſewhere, I ſuppoſe, without much difficulty.

Sim. Schard. Memor. Hiſtor. in Maximil. 2.

6.

Thus lived, and thus died, as we have ſaid, the two grand adverſaries of Gods Church, and ſubverters of Catholike Religion in *England*: after ſo many diſorders committed (as God was pleaſed to ſuffer) by their power and procurement, and that they had ſufficiently ſcourged and afflicted thoſe,

those, whose sins well deserved such punishment, they were (both of them taken away by the hand of Justice, and met with their deserts Temporally; and things were restored to some better pass. But what did the Catholikes all this while? How did they behave themselves? What Rebellions did they raise? what commotions or tumults of the people did they procure? I mean the more civil, religious, and ingenuous amongst them. 'Tis true, some Risings there were in *Devonshire*, and the Western parts, of the rude multitude, exasperated especially upon some temporal grievances, oppressions, and wants, which followed the misgovernment of those times; Religion was either not at all, or least of all pretended by them: They were vexed indeed to see the encroachments, which the Protector and others made dayly upon the Kings and Peoples Interest; They were sensible of the Scarcity and Dearth of all kinde of necessary commodities for life, which

which came ſuddenly upon them, and was far greater then it uſed to be; They could not endure well to be abridged, by Incloſures, of ſome other Liberties which they pretended to; In brief, They were ſenſible of all ſuch inconveniences in the Government of the State, as concerned *the Outward Man*; but for Religion, further then it ſerved to eaſe their Spleen, that is, to clamor, to aſperſe and raile upon thoſe, whom they conceived the Authors of their other, and more reſented grievances, I conceive they minded it not: and that there is ſcarce any good ground why a man ſhould think them, in that reſpect, more Catholikes then Proteſtants. And if a Prieſt, or ſome Eccleſiaſtical perſon were found amongſt them, (as it were ſtrange if there ſhould be none, conſidering how many there were then in the kingdom, abſolutely deſtitute, and diſcontented) yet certainly, they were not many, nor in any other quality con-

considerable. Whereas 'tis certain, that *Kets* camp in *Norfolk*, (a business of far greater consequence and difficulty) were all of them such as were fallen with the State from the profession of Catholike Religion, and become Protestants. And this I would generally premise, desiring the Reader to observe it, that where I affirm of Catholikes, that they did not conspire against their Princes, nor raise any tumults in the kingdom, for matter of Religion, I mean such only as were Catholikes indeed, and stood firm in their Holy Recusancy, not complying in any sort with those alterations, which *Henry* the 8th. *Edward* the 6th. or Queen *Elizabeth*, in their several times procured to be made, contrary to the integrity of Christian Religion. For such as complied were not to be counted Catholikes any longer, but Heretikes, Schismaticks, Hypocrites, &c. And for such people, having corrupted their faith to God, I would

would not be taken to apologize in any other point of duty. For 'tis very possible they might still retain some notions of Catholike Religion in their minds, which, afterward, and upon other occasions, running into terms of disloyalty, they might pretend as matter of complaint against their Prince, though *themselves* were neither Catholike; nor *That*, nor any other matter *purely Spiritual*, the true original cause of their Disorder; but onely those Temporal Grievances by which they smarted (as is abovesaid) and which they saw well enough to proceeed, either wholly, or in part, from the several alterations made.

There were the like in *Lincolnshire*, which our English Chronicles pass not over in silence. But it sufficeth, that for the generality of Catholikes, (I mean still those of more ingenuous, civil, and better quality) notwithstanding so great and violent provocations, as were used

uſed towards them; their patience and ſubmiſſive demeanor towards the State and civil Government was moſt exemplary to the World: Neither Prelates, nor Prieſts, nor Lay-people making any reſiſtance againſt thoſe unworthy men, who ſo much oppreſſed them under the Kings uſurped Authority and Name, making ſuch havock in the Church, and ſpoil of all things conſecrate to the Service of God, and exerciſe of their True, Ancient, Chriſtian-Catholike Religion, as this Nation never ſaw the like, ſince it had the happineſs to be called Chriſtian. It ſeemed, they had been bred in a better School of Vertue, then that which *Calvin* opened at *Genevah*, and had learnt to bear the croſs of their Saviour, that is to ſay, theſe temporal afflictions, calamities, and injuries, with more Patience; and that the glory of Martyrdom in ſufferance was accounted far more honorable with them, and more becomming

good

good Christians, then the Sword and Fortune of a Conqueror in comanding. In which most Christian posture I leave them to proceed.

Titulus Tertius.

1. THe laſt and greateſt tempeſt againſt poor *Engliſh* Catholikes was raiſed by Queen *Elizabeth*. This not onely ſhook the foundations of the Church, which had been ſo lately repaired by the moſt Catholike Princeſs Queen *Mary*, but proceeded, ſo far as humane policy and power could, to extirpate the very name and memory of Catholike Religion in *England*. And this, as it were, in an inſtant, and without noiſe. For, as her own Hiſtorian, *Camden*, reporteth, it was done, *Sine ſanguine & ſudore*, No man (unleſs perhaps it were Maſter Secretary *Cecil*) did ſo much as ſweat in

Camd. in Elizab.

in the bringing in of New Religion; nor was any mans blood, I mean at the first beginning, drawn about it. The Christian world stood amazed at the first news of such a sudden alteration: Both because Religion had been so lately, and so solemnly restored by Parliament; as also because the Queen her self (that now was) always professed her self so much Catholike, during the Reign of her Sister. *She constantly every day heared Mass*, saith the same *Camden*, and beside that, *ad Romanæ Religionis normam sæpius confiteretur*, went often to Confession, as other *Romane* Catholikes did. Yea, saith Sir *Francis Inglefeild*, when she was upon other matters sometimes examined by Commissioners from the Queen, she would her self take occasion to complain, that the Queen her Sister should see me to have any doubt of her Religion, and would thereupon make Protestation, and Swear that she was Catholike. The Duke of *Feria's*

Letter to King *Philip* is yet extant to be ſeen; wherein is certified, that the Queen had given him ſuch aſſurance of her beleefe, and in particular concerning the point of Real Preſence, that for his part he could not beleeve, ſhe intended any great Alteration in Religion. The ſame profeſſion alſo ſhe made to Monſieur *Lanſack*, as many Honorable Perſons have teſtified; and at her Coronation ſhe was Conſecrated in all points according to the Catholike maner, and anointed at Maſs by the Biſhop of *Carlile*, taking the ſame Oath to maintain Catholike Religion, the Church, and Liberties thereof, as all other her Catholike Predeceſſors, Kings and Queens of *England*, had ever done.

2. Concerning the grounds, which moved her to make this Alteration, ſo much contrary to the expectation and judgement of Chriſtendom, we ſhall ſpeak in due place. This was manifeſt, that the long ſickneſs of Queen *Mary* gave her great advantage

vantage & time, both to deliberate and draw all platforms into debate, to prepare instruments in readiness for all designs, and to make choise of the fittest and surest Counsellors, such as were most likely to advance her ends. Neither did she seem to value her Honor overmuch, in order to the bringing about of her chief design: For in open Parliament, after her intentions for a change began, to be discovered, she protested, that no trouble should arise to the *Roman* Catholikes, *for any difference in Religion*: Which did much abate the opposition, which otherwise might probably have been made by the Catholike party, and put the Clergy themselves in some hopes of Fair quarter under her Government. She knew full well, that a Prince alone, how Sovereign soever, could not establish a new Religion in his Kingdom; but that it must be the work of a Parliament to give Authority and Countenance to a business of that

Hor. Preface of Queen Elizab.

nature. Therefore to win the Bishops, and the rest of the Catholikes in Parliament to silence at least, she was content to use policy with them, and promise them fair; as Monsieur *Marvissier* hath well observed, who was a long time Embassador heer from the *French* King, and curiously noted the passages of those times. Add hereunto, That when the Act for Supremacy was revived (which was always the great Wheel of these Motions,) whereas by King *Henry*'s Law both Bishops and Barons stood in danger thereof (as the examples of Sir *Thomas More* Lord Chancellor of *England*, and Doctor *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester* had shewen) in this Parliament the Queen was content to exempt the Lords and Barons absolutely from the Oath, (as they in King *Edward* the Sixths time had exempted themselves,) and to leave the Rigor of it onely upon the Clergy and Commons. She also thought good to qualifie the Stile somewhat, *viz.* from *Supreme Head*, changing

Les memoir de Mons. Mich. Castelnau.

changing it into *Supream Governor*; which, though it altered not the sence, yet it abused some into a beleef, that the Queen pretended not unto so much in matters Ecclesiastical, as the King her Father had done. Beside we are to remember, that King *Henry*, by pulling the Abbyes, had much weakned the power of the Clergy in Parliament, having deprived them of the Votes of no less then Five and twenty Abbots, who constantly sat in Parliament in the quality of Barons. And lastly, it is well known, The Lower House of Parliament it self (as they call it,) was so calmly spirited in those times, that they used not much to oppose, what their good Lords of the upper House liked.

All which things considered, and that too many of the Catholikes, both Lords and others, thinking it better wisdom to purchase their future security by present silence, then to expose themselves to trouble and vexation afterward, by op- 3.

posing that, which they feared, they should not be able to hinder; therefore either but faintly resist, or quietly absent themselves, who can wonder, if the whole business were carried with ease, upon such promises of the Queen, and by the industry and craft of *Simon* (*alias*, Secretary *Cecil*,) who had the chief Management of it in his hands. By his advise it was thought fitting, that the Noble Earl of *Arundel* should, for a time, be abused with some hopes of marrying the Queen; who thereupon, by the interest which he had in the house of Peers, ingrossed into his own hands the *Proxies* or voices of so many of them (who thought good to be absent,) as, when time came, served the Queens turn exceedingly well. The duke of *Norfolk*, Son in law to *Arundel*, but now a Widower, was already exasperated against the Pope, because he might not have dispensation to marry his Kinswoman; and therefore it was no hard matter to joyn him with

with *Arundel*. The Queen had also against this time, either made, or advanced in dignity, and consequently in interest, certain new Lords, whom she knew to be favorers of her design, *viz. William* Lord *Parr* was made Marquis of *Northampton*, a good Speaker and a Politick man, *Edward Seymour* Son to the late Duke of *Sommerset*, was made Viscount *Beauchamp* and Earl of *Hartford*, Sir *Thomas Howard* was made Viscount *Bindon*, Sir *Oliver Saint John* Lord *St. John* of *Bletso*, Sir *Henry Cary* Lord *Hunsdon*. She had also as much weakened the Catholikes party, by discharging from the Counsel-Table many of the old Counsellors, such as she thought would oppose themselves, *viz.* the Lord Chancellor *Heath* Arch-Bishop of *York*, the Lord *Paget*, Lord Privy Seal, the Secretary *Boxhal*, Sir *Francis Ingleseild* and others; in whose rooms were placed Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, The new Marquis of *Northampton*, The Earl of *Bedford*, Sir *Anthony Cave*,

Sir *Francis Knolls*, *Rogers*, *Parry*, and Secretary *Cecil*. She deposed many of the old Judges, made new Justices of the Peace; and lastly, concerning the Election of Knights and Burgesses for the Parliament ensuing, she took such order, by the great diligence and cunning of her Instruments in all the Counties, that she wanted not a competent party, ready to close with her design in that House. Besides this, to remove all scruples, as much as might be, out of the peoples heads, and to make them think, that the same Religion and Service continued still, which was so lately before reestablished by Parliament, and that all the alteration made, was but onely the turning of the Leiturgy out of Latine into English for their better understanding, she provided, that in the Common-prayer-book there should be some part of the old frame still upheld, some Collects, Prayers and Anthemes of the old Missal, some of the ancient Ecclesiastical Habits

Habits for Divine Service, as Copes, Surplices, &c. some Ceremonies, as the Sign of the Cross, Adoration and Bowing at the name of *Jesus*: The Organs also and ancient manner of Singing their Matins and Evensong was retained, especially in her own Chappels, and in most of the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches of the Kingdom. The Title, Authority, and Jurisdiction of Bishops was also preserved with some considerable Grace and Dignity in the State, together with most part of the Revenues, of which at that present the Cathedral Churches were seized. By which dexterous management of affairs, the Common people were insensibly lulld asleep, and complyed to every thing; and it became not so hard a matter for the Queen to excuse her self, even to those forreign Princes, who expected otherwise at her hands: As she did particularly to the Secretary *D' Assonville*, who was sent by King *Philip* out of *Flanders* to Congratulate her

her advancement to the Crown.

4. By this time the Common-Prayer-Book was framed according to the Queens appointment, by certain Commissioners authorised for that purpose; The principal whereof were Doctor *Matthew Parker*, after advanced to the Arch-Bishoprick of *Canterbury*, having been formerly, as some say Chaplain to Her Highness: *Edmund Grindal* afterwards Bishop of *London*, *Horn* of *Winchester*, *Whitehead*, *May*, *Bill*, and Sir *Thomas Smith* Dr. of the Civil Law. The Liturgy was framed according to the Model of that, which the *English* strangers had used at *Franckford* in the year 1554. and varied not much from that which *Northumberland* had caused to be published towards the latter end of King *Edward* the Sixth. By the Nobility that were meerly *English* Protestants, as the Marquis of *Northampton*, Earl of *Bedford*, Lord *Gray* of *Pytgo*, Secretary *Cecil*, and others, it was well approved, and the establishing thereof by Parliament very much urged: But those, who had tasted of

of *Geneuah*, and were more affected with *Calvins* Model, both disliked and opposed it, either not knowing, or not regarding *the Queens reasons of State*, in the business. Sir *William Cecil*, as we said, was now Secretary of State, a Politick man, and one that knew well enough, how much this alteration would advance him; his industry carried all before him. Howbeit his fortunes were yet but low, having onely the Parsonage of *Wimbledon*, and some few Lands about *Stamford* to subsist upon. Therefore in his Letter to the Lord Marquis of *Northampton*, who was his *Mecœnas*, in the year 1560. upon the birht of his son Sir *Robert Cecil*, he desires the Marquis (being the Lord Treasurer) to move the Queen in his behalf *for some means and maintenance for his C. C.* (as he calld them) who were so likely to be famous in *England* afterward. Sir *Nicholas Bacon* was his Brother in Law, and another chief Engin of State; a man of somewhat a deeper judgement in the knowledge of the Laws, and a more

more plausible Orator. I must not forget, in this Catalogue of State-Engins, the Lord *Robert* (afterwards famously known by the name of *Leicester*) who, to possess the Queens favor solely, had already dis-card-ed Sir *William Pickering*, though formerly, (*viz.* in meaner fortune) a favorite, and no uncourtly Gentleman. Nor yet Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, nor Sir *Francis Walsingham*, nor Sir *Thomas Smith*, who were all, with the rest, prime instruments of this Action, intimate Counsellors in the business, and posse ng wholly the ears and grace of the Queen, sate as chief Pilots at the Ster n, guiding the the course both of Church and Common-wealth at their pleasure. All of them at this instant big with hopes of Preferment, Honor, and great Offices, which they were sure to loose, who held them under Queen *Mary*; Though many men wondered how Master Secretary *Cecil* could so easily forget his Beads, and his Breviary, where-

with

with he so exquisitely counterfeited a Catholik in Queen *Maries* time, that Cardinal *Poole* himself was deceived by him, so far as to do him many friendly Offices towards her Majestie, which, as by the event appeared, he did not much deserve.

Their great, and indeed onely, pretence or reason for the Change was *Reason of State*, The Queens safety, *Scilicet*. This they had all of them, but especially Secretary *Cecil* wrought strongly into her Majesties apprehension, *Actum esse de eâ, si Pontificiam Authoritatem in quâcunque re agnosceret*, she was but a lost Princess, say they, if she acknowledged the Popes authority in any thing. For, *Duo Pontifices, Two several Popes already had pronounced her Mothers marriage with the King to be unlawful and Null.* It may be thought, her Mothers Conscience did likewise *pronounce* the same sentence in her own Brest; otherwise why did she, being ready to go to the place of Execution, so 5. Camd. in Elizab.

so solemnly entreat and charge the Lady *Kingston*, to go to the Princess *Mary*, and upon her knees *in her name* to ask pardon of her, for all the wrongs, she had done her, protesting, that until this were done, she could not dye in peace? But upon this ground the Statesmen of those times conclude it necessary, that the Queen should alter Religion, Invest her self with the Sovereignty of all Power, and banish that Authority out of the Realm, which had presumed to declare her Majestie Illegitimate. This Counsel, how prosperous soever it proved in the event, (through Gods permission,) and how speciously politick soever it might be made to seem, by the Arguments and Rhetorick of those men, who for their own ends and interests desired a change, yet *Really* it could not but be full of danger, both to the Queen and the Realm; but especially to the Queen: who, if she had pleased, might have secured her self of her own particular

Speed. Chron.

lar fears by some better way. For hereby, the Sentence of Excommunication in some sort necessarily issuing upon her proceedings, she was not onely left destitute of all her Allies and Confederates, and driven as it were, to stand solely upon her own guard; against *France*, who was already an Enemy; and against *Spain*, who was a friend not very well satisfied. But she was forced, even at first, and at the entrance of her Reign, to run upon a Rock; which might have Shipwrackt her whole State; which was to assist the Rebells in *Scotland* against their lawful Sovereign, under a pretence of expelling the *French*, who were brought in thither by Authority of the Queen, onely to maintain the Government established. This might have taught her own people a bad lesson at home, a man would think; though it did not, as it proved. And being thus engaged in *Scotland*, she was obliged in pursuance of her design, to succor the Admi-

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ral and those Rebellious *Hugonots* of *France*; by whose perswasion she invaded *Normandy*, took possession of the Towns of *Newhaven*, *Diep*, and some other places delivered to her by the Vidame of *Charteres*. But the disgrace in ill-defending and loosing of them, especially of *Newhaven*; was one of the greatest blemishes that ever the *English*, before that time, received upon *French* ground; and far greater then it was Honor, to have them delivered, upon such occasion, into the Queens possession. For certainly had either the cause been just, or prudently managed, they might upon that advantage, have easily brought home *Calice* again, or lockt up the Gates of *Roan* and *Paris*. But they did neither, nor brought home any thing, but a great Plague after them; in most mens judgement, a scourge to the Realm for that offence. After this upon the like necessity of *self-preservation*, and upon the *Reason of State*, which *Polybius* prescribeth

eth, *Vicini nimium crescentis potentiæ quâcunque ex causâ deprimendæ*, *By all meanes keep thy Neighbor from growing too great*, she made no scruple to impede and give obstruction to the affairs of King *Philip* in the *Netherlands*, who was her Neighbor, her Ally, her Confederate, yea upon more occasions then one, and in matters of no small exigence, the best friend which she had in the world. Yet by reason of those pernicious Counsels concerning Religion, which she was fallen upon, she was, as it were, compelled to disown his just interest, and profess her self Ungrateful in the face of the world. Thereupon *Orange* and the States are assisted against their lawful Sovereign King *Philip*. I must not deny, but even in doing this, she pretended respect unto the Kings interest, professing in her Declaration concerning that business, *That what she did, was to preserve the Ancient Amity and Leagues betwixt the Crown of* England, *and the House of* Burgundy, Stow.

Burgundy, *and to prevent the loss and utter revolt of those Countries from the Kings obedience, which she knew otherwise the States and* Orange *would deliver up to some other Prince more professedly his Enemy.* So true it is, that which *Machiavel* observed, I suppose, much about those times, *viz. That wise Princes seldom or never want pretences for their Actions.* What a fair colour is here given to a foul Cause? But where is Conscience, Christianity and Truth, in the mean time? The world could see well enough through the Vizard; and knew, at what mark both the Queen and the States aimed.

6. But most Sage, sure, and worthy of so great a Commander and wise man, as himself was, is that of *Thucydides, Nullus Princeps a suis subditis juste puniendis arcendus est,* &c, *No Prince,* saith he, *ought to be hindred from punishing his Subjects according to the Laws; and whosoever goeth about to do so,* by his evil example *parem in se legem Statuit,* &c.

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he makes a Law against himself, and inables his own Subjects, in like case, *to seek forreign protection against his justice*. And this the Queen, with the whole Nation, might have found true by sad experience, if that either *Henry* the Second or *Francis* the Second, Kings of *France* had lived; or that her own Subjects, I mean those, whom she had not a little injured and alienated by her Misgovernment, had not been more loyally respective of her dignity, and more inclined to obedience, and sufferance for a good cause, then many other people in the world were. But Divine Providence having decreed, for our much unworthiness and many sins, *to remove the Candlestick of this Nation*, that is, to deprive us of the Light of the true saving Faith, and of all publike and free exercise of true Christian Religion, and to deliver us up to the darkness and many old delusions of Heresie, and *to follow our own ways* in those things, wherein it most of all concerned us

to

to have been ruled by good Authority, (which is the greatest judgement, that can befall a Nation, or any people in this world) all things cooperated to the accomplishment of his just displeasure against us: And the Queen with her party, were permitted to go on with their work, without any interruption; Even before her Coronation, or that any debate or resolution had been taken in Parliament *de novo* concerning Religion, she, being her self but *a Sheep of the Flock* (as *Constantine*, *The dost us*, and many others her Christian Predecessors in Princely Dignity have not blushed to acknowledge) yet presumed to put all *the Shepheards* of the Kingdom to silence; commanding, that none of the Bishops or other Prelates should preach, till her pleasure was further known. And after the Parliament all of them, that refused the new revived Oath of Supremacy, were deprived of all Honors, Dignities, and Employments which they

they had in Church or Common-wealth; and committed to several Prisons. Of this sort there are reckoned no less then Fourteen Bishops of *England*, all Vertuous and Learned Prelates, that were instantly deposed, and Ten of *Ireland*, Twelve Deans, Fifteen Heads or Masters of Colledges, Six Abbots, besides inferior dignitaries of the clergy, *viz.* Arch-Deacons, and other Priests without number, together with Master *Shelley*, Prior of Saint *Johns* of *Jerusalem*. All these as to their demeanor towards the Queen were blameless; there was not the least exception taken against them in that respect. The Bishops themselves were all sitting in Parliament at the time of Queen *Maries* death, and acknowledged by diverse Proclamations Queen *Elizabeths* Right and Title to the Crown. The Arch-Bishop of *York*, Doctor *Heath*, was then Chancellor of *England*, and labored by all means possible to do her Majestie service, and to settle the

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Hearts of her people in obedience and loyalty towards her, as to their natural and lawfull Soveraign; especially in that grave Oration, which he made to the Nobility and Commons of Parliament, upon the first report of Queen *Maries* death. The Bishops joyntly did their Homage and Fealty to her in all dutifull maner; and though they were not without some suspicion, that she intended to change Religion, yet did they practise neither Scotizing nor Genevating towards her: Never did they incense the people against her, though they were generally Catholik, and they might (probably) have done it, to her no little trouble. No, they never attempted any kinde, or any shew of violent resistance at all, either by Domestick or Forreign help; but always, from first to last, most submissively behaved themselves towards her, tendring her safety and the Peace of the Realm, far above their own Lives, Liberties, and Estates.

ſtates. 'Tis true, it was once debated among them, whither they ought not to proceed to *Excommunication* againſt her, both for the preſervation of Catholikes, and diſcharge of their Office: Yet conſidering the great trouble and inconveniences that might ariſe thereby, both to her Majeſtie and the State, in caſe the people ſhould fall into any diſorders thereupon, or take Arms in defence of Religion, They concluded (notwithſtanding her caſe and proceedings were very much liable to cenſure) yet, for their parts to leave her to Gods Judgement, and referred the whole buſineſs to his Holineſs.

And herein alſo the Favor and 7.
Intereſt of King *Philip*, (as they had always done) did ſtand her in no ſmall ſtead. For he, knowing the practiſes of *France* upon this occaſion, and how much they labored at *Rome*, that ſentence of Excommunication might paſs againſt Queen *Elizabeth*; onely out of deſign, and hoping to inveſt them-

ſelves of *England* thereupon, under the Title and pretenſions of Queen *Mary* of *Scotland*, who was the next Heir, and at that time married to their King; Was the more willing to hinder it: leaſt by this means, *England* and *Ireland* both, together with *Scotland*, ſhould come to be Incorporate, as it were, into the Crown of *France*, and ſo become an enemy too potent for him to deal with; out of which reſpect alſo, even in Queen *Maries* time, more then once he had kept of proceedings againſt her, which otherwiſe would have concerned her very neerly. Therefore ſo long as there was any hope, that the Queen might be capable of better Counſels, he ceaſed not by his Miniſters to do all good Offices here betwixt the Queen and the Clergy; and at *Rome*, hindered the paſſing of the cenſures for no ſmall time, notwithſtanding all the indeavors and inſtances thereunto made by the *French*. But the Prelates all this while, as I ſaid, choſe rather a

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Durate then *Armate*, ever profeſſing with their mouths, and making it good, no leſs with their examples and practiſes, that *Preces and Lachrimæ* indeed, Prayers and Tears were the onely weapons which they had, to fight againſt the Queen. Though the world knows, how little theſe prevailed with her; whoſe ſeverity towards them continued, in the ſame extremity from firſt to laſt, not relenting, nor affording the leaſt remiſſion, in any degree of Liberty or Eſtate, unto their dying day. Doctor *Scot* Biſhop of *Cheſter* died at *Lovain* in *Exile*, *Goldwel* of *Aſaph* died at *Rome*, *Pate* Biſhop of *Worceſter* was indeed at the Councel of *Trent*, and ſubſcribed there for the Clergy of *England*, but never returned. Doctor *Oglethorpe* Biſhop of *Carlile*, who had Crowned the Queen, was yet deprived with the reſt, dying ſuddenly, and very ſhortly after; ſo did alſo Doctor *Tonſtal*, that Learned and Famous Prelate, Biſhop of *Durham*, while he was Priſo-

ner at *Lambeth*: Yet not before he had personally given the Queen a sound and Godly Admonition, concerning her strange proceedings, with that liberty and freedom of zeal, which became so venerable a Prelate, and true Pastor of Gods Church, as he was, and (as some have said) Godfather to the Queen. *Bourn* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells* was prisoner to *Cary*, Dean of the Chappel, and there dyed. Doctor *Thirlby*, Bishop of *Ely*, was first committed to the Tower; afterwards He and Secretary *Boxhal* were sent to *Lambeth*, and there ended their days. Bishop *Bonner* of *London*, *Watson* of *Lincoln* with the Abbot of *Westminster*, *Feckenam*, died all prisoners, and, as some say, in the Marshalsey. Prior *Shelly* was banished, and died in *Exile*.

8. This was the the very Sad, yet (as by their Patience, Submission, and Sufferance appeared) very Christian Catastrophe of so many grave, religious, and good Prelates of

of *England*; chief Paſtors of the Church of God in our nation. Thus was a third, and the moſt venerable State of the Realm, who, like the Cedars of *Libanus*, ever ſince King *Etheldreds* time, for ſo many years together had ſtood, flouriſhing in great Dignity and Power in this Land, on a ſudden caſt down, diſgraced, put in priſon, or baniſhed the Realm. The chief and immediate cauſe of which hard procedings againſt them was the refuſing the Oath of Supremacy; for no other crime, no other fault could be charged upon them. This indeed they refuſed, as a thing which concerned their Conſcience very much. And although, perhaps, ſome of the Prelates now living, had either for fear, or upon ſurprizal, in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, (when it was firſt enacted) given more conſent, or connivence to it, then became Prelates of the Church to do; yet they had now better conſidered themſelves, and reſolved to be conſtant,

not onely to the Doctrine of Catholike Faith in that point, but alſo to the judgement of the whole Kingdom, which ſo lately in full Parliament had deſired the Abrogation of that Law: and acknowledged the Supremacy of Eccleſiaſtical Authority to be, where Chriſt placed it, *viz.* in the Sea Apoſtolike. Nor did the *Engliſh* Prelates refuſing to acknowledge the Queen Head of the Church, any thing more, then what the Proteſtants themſelves, at leaſt no mean ones among them, would likewiſe do. For 'tis manifeſt, that ſetting aſide ſome few *Engliſh* at home, they do generally abroad diſlike the Princes Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical cauſes, as much as any. Not to mention *Gilby*, who in his Book called *Admonitio ad Anglos* calls King *Henry* the Eighth reproachfully *Monſtrum Libidinoſum & Aprum, qui Chriſti locum invaſit*, &c. *A libidinous Monſter, a Wilde Bore broken into Chriſts Vineyard, and making himſelf Head of*

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the Church, which belongs only to Christ. *Calvin* himself in his Commentary upon *Osee* is very angry at those, who attribute so much to Secular Princes, as to give them such absolute power in the affairs of Religion; and in plain terms confesseth, *Qui initiò tantoperè extulerunt Henricum Regem Angliæ, certè fuerunt inconsiderati homines,* &c. *They,* saith he, *who first advanced the Authority of King* Henry *of* England *to such a height, did not well consider, what they did, when they gave him that Supream Power in all Causes: it was a matter, which always greeved me very much,* saith he, *For indeed they did no less then blaspheme, when they called him Supream Head of the Church under Christ.* Sir *Thomas Moor,* Bishop *Fisher,* Abbot *Whiteing* of *Glastenbury* and those many other Holy Abbots and Religious men of all sorts, who suffered in the case of Supremacy under *Henry* the Eighth, never said more. And *Luther* himself saith no less, but more scurrilously, as

his humor was. *Quid ad nos Mandatum Electoris Saxoniæ? What hath the Prince Elector of* Saxony *to do to command me? Let him look to his Sword, and see, how well he manageth that; and leave matters of Preaching to the Clergy*, such as himself was. *Scilicet, Tom.* 2. Fol. 259. and *Tom.* 1. *Lat.* Fol. 540. he tells them plainly, *Non est regum aut Principum*, &c. *It belongs not to Kings and Princes to take upon them, to establish Doctrine, no not the true Doctrine; but to be subject and obedient themselves in that case.* And *Chemnitius* in his Epistle to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, speaking of Queen *Elizabeth*, after he had taxed her sufficiently in other particulars, he fals at last upon her Title of Supremacy in these words, *Et quod fœmineo, & a seculis inaudito fastu se Papissam, & caput Ecclesiæ facit*, saying, *by a strange Womanish and unheard of kinde of Arrogance, she makes her self*, as it were, *a She-Pope in her own dominions, & Head of the Church.* What the doctrin & practise of those in

in *Scotland* is, and hath ever bin since their pretended Reformation, is too well known, to be disputed. *Cartwright* teacheth the same in all his Books, but especially in his last: And so do all the Presbyterians generally both here and beyond Seas. They of *Amsterdam* in their *Confess. Fid.* 1607. go somewhat further, when they resolve, That *Vnicuiq; Ecclesiæ particulari est par & plenum jus* &c. That *every particular Church hath ful and equal power*, (with any other Church or Churches) *to use exercise and enjoy, whatsever ordinances of Perpetuity* Christ *hath committed to his Church*; & therefore it is cleer, upon that supposition, That no one Person is left *Supream Governor over many*. Dr. *Whitacre* in his answer to *Reinolds* speaking upon this subject, hath a passage not easie to be understood. *The Title*, saith he, *of Supream Head of the Church hath been disliked by diverse Godly Learned men, and of right it belongeth to the Son of God: and therefore*, saith he, *never did our Church give that Title* Pag. 50. Art. 2. Pag. 4.

unto the Prince, nor did the Prince ever challenge it. By saying that *many Godly Learned men disliked it*, meaning *Calvin, Gilby, Knox, Luther*, &c. mentioned before; and upon this ground, *viz.* that *of right it belongeth to the Son of God*, he sheweth sufficiently, what his own judgement therein is. But when he saith, *never did our Church give the Title of Supream Head of the Church to the Prince, nor the Prince challenge it*, who can tell, what he meaneth? For admit, that what was done by King *Henry* the Eighth were not rightly said to be done by *their Church*; yet I hope they will own the Church in King *Edward* the Sixths time, who challenged the Supremacy notoriously enough; as appeareth in the first Parliament which he held, wherein it was Enacted, *That whosoever, after the Fifth of March nex ensuing, should deny, that the Kings Heirs and Successors were not, or ought not to be, Supream Head in Earth of the Church of* England *and* Ireland *immediately under God,*

God, for the third assertion, should be guilty of Treason. And that Queen *Elizabeth* after him declined the Title, and chose rather to be called *Supreum Governesi*, mended the matter not a whit. For it was not the Title onely, but the power pretended unto, and exercised by and under that Title, at which men made scruple; and that power Queen *Elizabeth* claimed and exercised all her Reign, as much as ever King *Edward* her Brother had done. So that the refusing of this Oath being the onely or chief matter alledged for the deprivation of the Catholike Bishops, seeing Protestants themselves were no better agreed about it, they might in all reason, have expected, if not a milder sentence, yet at least a more favorable Execution thereof, from the Queen; whom they had so lately and so unanimously acknowledged, and no less willingly then any other persons of the Realm. Who always bear themselves obsequiously towards her in temporal matters;

matters; never made complaint, never writ Libels, Invectives, or Books againſt her, as the Reformers in other parts perpetually did againſt their Princes, and as too many of her Subjects at home, that is to ſay, Miniſters of her own making, and others, in ſhort time ſet themſelves to do. No Homilies of ſedition were diſperſed among the people; No *Wyat*, No *Oldcaſtle* appeared in the Field by their inſtigation, notwithſtanding all the Adverſity, Diſgrace, Wants, which they ſuffered. In a word, ſuch was their behavior conſtantly towards her, even to the very laſt of their lives, that noe indifferent man will attribute it to any thing elſe, but to the moſt excellent and right Chriſtian reſolution of thoſe worthy men, to ſuffer perfectly for ſuch a good cauſe; and unto that Patience, Humility, Obedience, Æquanimity, and Reſigned Temper of Spirit, which, (as it was exemplary in them) ſo, is it indeed Innate, (as I may ſay,)

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and moſt natural unto all Vertuous and Religious men, that are truely Catholike.

And ſuch in truth (though envy frown, when we ſpeak it) is the general Inclination and Temper of all *Engliſh* Catholikes, towards their Sovereign Prince, both within and without the Realm; as the experience of their quiet behavior, for ſo many years together of hard times, have cleerly ſhewen. When I ſpeak of Catholikes *within the Realm*, I mean, Recuſants in general, (as we are called) men and women of all Eſtates and Conditions; who have had our ſhares, and taſted of the Cup of affliction, (as God was pleaſed to adminiſter it unto us,) at this preſent not much leſs then a Hundred of years. When I ſpeak of thoſe *without the Realm*, I mean the Seminaries of Prieſts, Religious Perſons and Students that be Catholike beyond the Seas. Concerning which Seminaries we are to know, that when the old Clergy of *England*, Biſhops and 9.

and Priests, were some languishing in Prison, other in Exile, many dead, and all in disfavor. The Secretary and such other Politick Protestants as then sate at the Steam of Government in *England*, did confidently imagin, that in a short time both Priest and Priesthood would be worn out and extingish-ed in this Nation. And truely it was observed, that about the year 1576. there were not above Thirty of the old Priests remaining in the Realm. Hereupon Doctor *Allen*, a man even raised by God to do his Country good in a time of greatest necessity, together with some others of the *English* Clergy, begun the Seminary at *Doway*, about the year 1569. meerly out of spiritual charity towards their poor Country, and a Christian Providence to prevent the utter decay of Religious Professors, Priests and others: who might serve in time to come, to uphold true Religion in *England*, and to preserve a Continuation of the Catho-

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like Church there, (as it had ever been from the Apoſtles times to that preſent) unto ſucceeding Generations: And as by the great bleſſing of God we ſee, their pious Counſels have had an happy effect unto this day; notwithſtanding the many oppoſitions, adverſities and difficulties, which they have met with, as well from *England*, as from other places. They intended alſo the Inſtruction and training up of yong Scholars, *viz.* of the Catholike Nobility, Gentry and others of our Nation in the ſtudies of Learning, Vertue, and all kinde of honeſt and chriſtian Education; which, as the caſe ſtood, they could not poſſibly have in their own Country, without Ship-wracking of their conſciences, and great peril of their ſouls. This, I ſay, was the firſt and onely deſign of the Seminaries, *viz.* to be a Nurſery of young and tender plants, as ſhould be committed to them, to be fitted for the Service of God, and the leading of a true Chriſtian, Vertuous

ous life afterward; and not to be Seedplots or Forges of Treason, and seditious practises against their Country, as their Adversaries cease not to accuse them. That's a calumny black and palpable, as shall appear more hereafter. At present I shall onely take notice of what that great Protonotary of *England* brings in charge against them, in his Book called *Justitia Britannica*, which are three things. First, That they are a company of base fugitive persons. Secondly, that they corrupt the Land with false Doctrine: and Thirdly, That they practise with forreign States to disturb the Kingdom, raise rebellion, and withdraw Subjects from their obedience. As touching the First I am very well assured that there be Gentlemen of our Nation at *Doway*, both in the Colledge and Monasteries, of as good Families, as well Bred, and as Eminent Scholars, as any I have known of all these sorts in the Universities of *England*, wherein I am not altogether a

ſtranger. I will not make Compariſons, for that were but to make them more odious; neither am I willing to detract any thing from the honor of our *Engliſh* Academies, which I am bound to maintain. It muſt be confeſſed, there be many excellent wits, and men of great learning bred in them; yet this I may truly ſay, That thoſe beyond Sea are of *no baſe quality*: neither is their education in thoſe places ſuch, as ſhould render them liable to that Character in time to come. Yea rather they are ſo orderly governed, and their times of ſtudy, devotion, exerciſe both Scholaſtical and Spiritual, recreation, yea even of their moſt neceſſary repaſt and reſt, are all ſo exactly meaſured out to them, all occaſions of idleneſs, exceſs, and ill company, ſo prudently and carefully prevented, that it is indeed no wonder, they appear ſo civil, ſo devout, ſo religious, temperate, ſober and well governed, in all outward deportment, as, through

the grace of God, they do. They are, as I ſaid, by their Superiors ſtrictly kept to their tasks; yet rather won, then forced unto good. They are bridled with a hard bit, but it is carried with ſuch a gentle hand, as it doth not pinch, but guide them: So that, as their ſtudies, bleſſed be God, are not altogether unhappy; ſo neither is their life unpleaſant, but ſweet, agreable to vertuous mindes, and full of the Nobleſt contents. And that they ſhould be counted *Fugitives* is moſt injurious. For do they live there as Outlaws in a forreign Province? have they fled for any crime? doth Juſtice enquire after them, or wait for them in their own Country? what Felonies, what Treaſons have driven them thence? but ſuch as a very few years before, were, not onely in the ſame place, where they are now ſo hardly cenſured, but in all places of Chriſtendom, and by all people of ſound judgement, counted the greateſt vertues? Again, they live not there out of any

any factiousnes of spirit, or ill affection towards his Majestie or the State of *England*, but for conscience sake onely, and to avoid the severity of Laws enacted here against Catholikes and the profession of Catholike Religion. It is necessity that compels them to take this course. In *England* Catholikes have no Churches, wherein to serve God publickly, nor liberty to serve him privately any where else. The Sacraments are never, or but very seldom Administred to them, in comparison of what they should be. They can have no priviledge, or benefit of the Universities for education and study, without Oaths, going to Church, and hearing and doing many other things, contrary to a good conscience. Beside all this, did not *Barty*, *Knolls*, and *Hales*, did not *Jewel*, *Horn*, *Cox*, *Pilkington*, *Poynet* and many others in Queen *Maries* time, take the same course, for conscience as they pretended? They would not willingly have been called *Fugitives*,

tives, when they were abroad. Why then should those Gentlemen at *Doway*, Saint *Omars*, and elsewhere, Exil'd, as it were, at present from their native Country upon the same common pretence and reason, *viz.* reason of conscience, be called *Fugitives*, or stigmatized with any such Characters of ignominy? Let those Laws be repealed first, which threaten present death to them upon their return, and which were all procured against them, unduly, and by misprizion, *viz.* of their supposed practisings against the State, which (as they complain) were never proved, nor are true. Let it be permitted to them to enjoy Liberty of Conscience, and to serve God, as all good Catholikes and Christians ought to do, without molestation and danger to their persons, prejudice to their estates, further then they shall give just offence to the State, and the world would quickly see, where their truest affections lay: Neither *Doway*, nor St. *Omars*, nor

nor *Rhemes*, nor *Rome* it ſelf would hold them, from returning with all thankfulneſs and ſpeed, to expreſs their humbleſt obedience to his Majeſtie, and fidelity to their native Country. And as for their Parents Kinsfolks and Friends, from whom they are now unhappily ſeparated (and from many of them, perhaps, againſt their wills,) they ſhould plainly finde, that natural affection was not extinguiſhed in them, neither would kindneſs creep, where it might ſafely go.

The Second objection is, *They corrupt the Land with falſe Doctrine.* 10.
This objection ſuppoſeth, that *Calviniſm*, and the preſent Religion *by Law eſtabliſhed* in *England*, is the true; which *England* it ſelf denied but a few years ſince: and the whole Chriſtian world doth at this day. I do not except the Proteſtants themſelves. For there is not any one of their pretended Churches abroad, that agreeth with this preſent Church of *England* in all

all points of Doctrine and Discipline established. But to wave that question at present, as no part of my undertaking, it must be considered, there are learned and vertuous men on both sides, one whereof will not, it seems, vaile Bonnet to the other, in point of understanding the Scriptures. How then should the difference be decided (even in reason) but by some Authority distinct from them both, yet indifferent and superior to both? which can be no other but the judgement and tradition of the Catholike Church precedent unto both. Besides this, the Bishops in the first Parliament offered to defend their Religion *by disputation*, which the Protestants would not accept, but upon an unequal condition, that is, (as Master *Camden* himself reporteth) *Nisi Baconus in studiis Theologicis parum Versatus*, &c. *Unless Sir* Nicholas Bacon *might be President and Moderator of the busineß, who was* a man, neither of competent Dignity to preside in such

ſuch an action (though he were newly put into an high office) nor yet of ſufficient abilities to judge of ſuch matters, being a man of the other Robe, but a Serjeant at law a few days before; and beſide all this a Partialiſt, and open favorer of the Adverſaries of the Church. Therefore the Biſhops refuſed him, as an incompetent perſon; as well they might, Though for doing ſo they endured a great deal of calumny. But indifferent men will judge beſt. And certainly had the Queen at all deſired the Diſputation, as ſome pretend, or that it ſhould have had any juſt and fair iſſue, ſhe would have provided Judges (as eaſily ſhe might,) more agreeable to the Dignity of the action, and the Qualities of the Diſputants, both for Ability, Indifferency, and Honor. Since their time *F. Robte Parſons*, *Campian*, and diverſe others have made the ſame requeſt to the State, being deſirous to bring truth to the Tryal and Touchſtone in ſome publike maner: which cannot

not but be some argument, that at least they do beleeve, in sincerity and good conscience, that themselves are in the right; and therefore should not be so hastily condemned, or prejudged of their cause. If it be said, that such demands as these have been answered, disputations have been permitted, as for example, that of Doctor *Reinolds* with Master *Hart*, that of Doctor *Goad* with *F. Campian*; and that in both these and some other, truth hath appeared so manifestly on the Protestants side, that both Catholikes and Priests ought to be convinced: I reply, There was not faire play used in those actions? it was *iniquissima conditio*, the most unequal dealing that ever was used; for a man armed to set upon a Captive, a man at Liberty upon one in Fetters, destitute of Books, having no warning, nor liberty given him to prepare him self; but which is worst of all, and the greatest inhumanity that ever was heard of,) in the

the ſight and view of the rack, whereon he had, a very little while before, been poſed with moſt cruel queſtions: which was the caſe of that excellent and bleſſed man *F. Edmund Campian*, afterwards Martyr. And as for Doctor *Reinolds* (although he pretends ſomething to the contrary, yet) it is certain, he framed that Combat, which he publiſhed between himſelf and Maſter *Hart*, at his own pleaſure. Laſtly the Clergy, and other Prieſts of the Catholike Church in *England* do pretend, and have not ſeldom offered to prove, that the chief Baſis of Proteſtant Doctrine in general is either Fallacy or Forgery; and that the chief builders of this *Babel*, by name *Bp. Jewel* (the grand Apologiſt of the *Engliſh* Church, *Luther* himſelf, *Calvin*, *Melanthon*, *Du Pleſſis*, the *Hugonots*, Saint *Auguſtine* in *France*, Doctor *Morton* their Achilles in *England*, both the *Whites*, not excepting *Laud* himſelf the late Patriarke of *Engliſh* Proteſtants,

nor *Andrewes*, nor *Mountague*, but generally all other Proctors of that cause, do defend themselves, and endeavor to bear down Catholikes, not with sincere and plain dealing becoming Christians, but with calumny and falshood; that is to say, by false Quotations, Corruptions, Falsifying, and misreciting of Authors, untrue reporting of Doctrines, false and unjust criminations of mens persons, and of whole Orders of men, and by many other indirect ways, unseemly and unworthy of the cause of truth. They humbly therefore implore and hope from the justice of his Majestie and the State, that they shall not be condemned without hearing: But as the charges, which they bring against their Adversaries, are of a foul nature, tending much to the dishonor of God, and disparagement of Christian faith, which God will not have to be upheld by ungodly and evil means; so they shall before sentence be permitted to plead for themselves,

themſelves, and to prove the charge againſt their Adverſaries: for whom it is not to purpoſe to recriminate in the buſineſs, and ſay that Catholikes are guilty of the ſame faults. For we maintain the contrary. And deſire to know, what one Doctrine it is that we charge them with, as odious and offenſive to Chriſtian eares, but the Reader, if he pleaſe, may finde it expreſsly and undeniably verified upon them by our Authors, and perticularly in that exact Treatiſe of the Biſhop of *Chalcedon*, called *Collatio doctrinæ Proteſtantium, &c.* extant both in Latine and Engliſh. what crime do we lay to their charge, but we prove it by Authors and Teſtimonies of good credit, and moſt commonly from among themſelves? What do we bring out of Antiquity in behalf of Catholike Religion, or againſt them, which they themſelves confeſs not upon ſome other occaſion? The Proteſtants Apology is a Magazine of Evidences in this kinde. And as

concerning the *Index Expurgatorius*, whereby they pretend, that we *Corrupt Authors*, it is onely a ſpecious calumny to catch thoſe, who are willing to be deceived. For firſt the very maner of proceeding doth exempt it from all imputation and ſuſpicion of Fraud with indifferent men; it being *ab origine* a thing intended and made for publike view, and to be openly expoſed and avowed to the world, as it was: which matters of Fraud Forgery and falſe play uſe not to be. Secondly, the Expurgators, appointed to the overſight of that buſineſs, meant not to *corrupt Authors*, but to *correct former and leſs perfect Editions* by better Copies and more exactly compared; eſpecially ſuch *Editions*, as they found corruptly and partially publiſhed by Hereticks. And where they obſerved, that any late writer had been bold by way of Annotations, or otherwiſe, to deliver any thing, out of his private judgement, leſs conſonant unto Catholike Doctrin

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or Truth, then was requisite, they spared not to admonish the Reader of it by their censure. In all which doing, what is there, we pray, that can be blamed? Yea suppose it should happen, that the reasons, which moved them to *Correct* in this or that place, and to vary from some other reading, were not sufficient; and that they inserted their *Deleatur* and other censures, where they ought not; yet, I say, the Index of their Expurgations being faithfully published to the world, and so easily procureable by all men, it was impossible, that any prejudice should arise to truth by it; every man being left free either to follow or refuse the said *corrected Reading*, as he judged best. Beside when we say, Catholikes are not guilty of misalledging Authors, or of any other abuse of that nature, we would be understood to speak, not onely of wilful and culpable misalledging, (of which onely we accuse our Adversaries) but also of such writers es-

pecially, as being themſelves publikly Authorized to handle the controverſies of Religion in the Schools, Their works are afterward, upon mature examination, publiſhed to the view and judgement of the world; or elſe of ſuch Prelates and Perſons of Dignity in the Church, as have had leiſure, and ſet themſelves to combat the Herefies of the time. For otherwiſe, as we do not charge them here with any miſtakes of *Ames*, *Bucanus*, *Daneus*, or any other of thoſe Niblers at *Bellarmine* (as Maſter *Normington* of *Cambridge* once called them in a Sermon at Saint *Maries*) much leſs with the impudencies of the Miniſter *Craſhaw*, nor with the miſtakes of *Chark*, *Fenner*, *Beard*, *Burton*, or any other Triobolary Controvertiſts at home, either of former or preſent times, but, as you ſee, onely with faults of their Prime Leaders, Claſſicall men, Prelates and Dignitaries of their Church; ſo, if it ſhould happen, that any private man of our own,

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writing onely by private Authority and judgement, should either through overſight, or indiligence be found chargeable with ſome kinde of miſtake, we would not have it ſtood upon, as if it were the common practiſe of all to write ſo negligently; or that the defence of Catholike Religion did any wit depend upon ſuch miſtakes: As we ſay the defence of Proteſtancy doth very much upon thoſe miſtakes, which we are ready to bring in charge againſt them, and without which there were not half the colour for defence of it.

Concerning the third point, *viz.* That the Prieſts and Students in the *Engliſh* Seminaries beyond Sea are *Practicers againſt the State*, and *do ſtir*, or *endeavor to ſtir the People to Rebellion*, it is indeed an odious and heavy charge, which the Book called, *The execution of Juſtice, &c.* layeth roundly upon them; and is ſeconded therein by a Proclamation in the year 1580. which doth directly charge thoſe Prieſts and 11.

others, as Acceſſories, and privy to the Counſels of *Philip* King of *Spain*, the Pope, and ſome other Catholike Princes, which (as 'tis ſaid,) had combined together about that time to invade *England*, to depoſe the Queen, and ſubdue the Nation to the *Spaniard*. But for anſwer I ſay, that jealouſie is a kinde of *Argus*, (full of eyes; (and ſo ſhe is painted,) but they are all purblinde: which is the cauſe, that ſhe miſtakes ſo oft, ſtarts at her own ſhadow, and is always trembling, and doubting the worſt of every body. We cannot deny, but there were great States-men, that governed *England* in thoſe days under the Queen; yet howſoever it happened, with all their Opticks they ſeemed not to have any particular foreſight of the dangers which threatned them, till they were at their doors: yea having *by error of Government* provoked and drawn them upon themſelves, yet they took a courſe more proper to kindle the flame, then to quench

quench the fire. But this is not a businesse to be discussed now. That which we are to do is to justifie the Priests and other *Good men* of the Seminaries, that they are not Traitors, are not Enemies of the State, do not practise, consult, cooperate, where they live, to any thing prejudicial to their Prince and Country. First, if any such Confederation had been betwixt his Holiness, the King of *Spain*, and other Princes against *England*, as is pretended, but was never yet proved; (and 'tis well known, that what the Catholike King did afterward, as it was upon great provocations given, so was it also upon his own score onely; and with no other assistance, but what was his own, and ordinary in such cases.) Yet, I say, suppose there had been such Confederation or League betwixt them, is it probable, that so great and wise Princes, as they were, would acquaint a few poor Contemplative men, Students at *Rhemes* and *Doway*, with their designs?

Men so inconsiderable every way in relation to such service, so useless, and unable, in respect of their maner, condition and place of living, to contribute any thing to the work? Is it credible, they would manage such high matters, and of so great importance, so weakly? Let no man say, That Priests might serve them by preparing a party here, and by their *reconciling of men to the Pope*. For it is not the Priests work to reconcile men *to the Pope*, but unto God, and to the Communion of the true Catholike Church: whereof, although the Pope, as successor to Saint *Peter*, be Supream and chief Pastor; yet Catholikes, by returning to the Church, and consequently acknowledging that Supremacy *of Spiritual Authority* in his Holiness, are not obliged so much as to take notice of any Temporal designs that he hath; no, though they were, perhaps, for advancement of Religion: much less to consent, concur, or cooperate with them con-

contrary to the Law of nature, their Duty of Allegience, and the interest of their native Country. Secondly, among so many Priests, as by that time there were, both in England and beyond the Seas, and in so long a time, that this pretended Confederacy was in framing, when Spies and Intelligencers were many, and well paid by the State, was there so much as one Priest nominated or accused to have been so corrupted, or induced any way by those Princes, or their Ministers, to practise ought to the prejudice of their Country? was there ever any one apprehended or convicted of such a treason? was there ever any Subject of *England* called in question, for entertaining Priests, that were sought after upon that account? In a word, when the *Spanish* Armado was under Sail for *England*, was there so much as one Priest, or Seminary-man found or known to be in it? or at any time since discovered to have been used, or imployed in that service? 'Tis confessed,

confeſſed, the Proclamation ſpoken of before, being framed on purpoſe to put people into a fright, and to make honeſt men odious, doth traduce them ſufficiently, as perſons ſuborned to prepare the way, and procure ſafe landing for the Navy. But *Si accuſaſſe ſufficit, quis erit innocens?* Such general charges prove nothing but paſſion, or ſome undue, byaſſed, and diſtempered judgement. They that know ſuch men well, know it to be a buſineſs far out of their way, to ſpie Countries, to obſerve, how Ports are garded, and what Havens lie upon the Coaſt. However it is evidence of fact, and the conviction, at leaſt queſtioning of ſome one perſon for ſuch crime, that would be given in the caſe: Which ſeeing there never was, Indifferent men cannot but think ſuch Accuſations to have been very injurious; and that the great fears and jealouſies ſhewen, had more of the *Chimæra* and fiction in them, then of real danger. It was otherwiſe with the poor *Engliſh* themſelves

themſelves in *Spain* not long after, both Religious and others. For when the *Engliſh* Armado, in the year 1589. made an attempt upon *Lisbon*, and invaded ſome parts of *Portugal*, the King of *Spain* took them to be ſo little either his Friends, or Enemies to their Prince and Country, as they are traduced, that he laid them all faſt by the Heeles, and kept them cloſe priſoners, (during the whole time, that the Action laſted,) as many of them, as were found at *Valladolid*, *Burgos*, and ſome other places in *Spain*. Nor was there in thoſe many Actual attempts of Treaſon, ſuppoſed to be made againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, ſo much as one Prieſt, Monk or Friar ever attainted or impeached about them; Nor in the whole Five and forty years of her Reign any more then two ſecular Prieſts attainted, or convinced of Actual Treaſon againſt her Majeſtie, *viz. Ballard* for knowing, and yet concealing the attempts of *Babington* in the buſineſs of the Queen

of

of *Scots*; and old Parſon *Plomtree* of the North, who ſaid Maſs once at a riſing in thoſe parts. And yet how greevouſly are they charged with ſuch crimes, all along the Queens Reign? And how much was the people incenſed againſt them upon that perſwaſion? What Sermons, Proclamations, Lawes, were made in Thunder, and Lightening, and Blood againſt theſe poor men, Souldiers of our Saviour Chriſt, and fighting onely with Spiritual Arms under his Banner, The Croſs, in that part of the Catholike Church, which is Militant in *England*? What calamities, afflictions, miſeries have they not endured, by perſecution hereupon? The onely Colledges of *Rhemes* and *Doway*, beſide other Religious Orders from other places, have ſent out into our Lords Harveſt no leſs then One hundred perſons, who have all ſuffered for *Things purely Spiritual*, that is, either for being Prieſts, or for doing the Office of Prieſthood, *viz.* Saying Maſs,

Re-

Reconciling of Sinners unto God, &c.

In the year 25. of Queen *Elizabeth* it was made Felony to harbor a Priest; and to be a Priest, Treason. And the Act looked so cruelly back to *primo Elizab.* that whosoever was made Priest since that time might very easily be drawn within compass of the charge. The Law was made upon occasion of those Treasons of *Parry*, *Francis Throgmorton*, *Anthony Babington*, and his complices; as also upon occasion of *F. Campian*, and those Priests arraigned with him. For a general apprehension was taken, that these had combined with some forreign Princes, and other persons of power within *England*, to restore Religion, and deliver the Queen of *Scots* out of prison; which was a business then fresh in memory. Hereupon the Priests in *England* frame a supplication by common consent, and finde means to present the same to the Queen at *Greenwich*, by the hands of Master *Shelley*. Wherein, 12.

after

after they have first condemned and renounced the practises of *Parry*, &c. They profess and declare their own judgement in these words. First, we utterly deny that the Pope hath power to command or give License to any man to consent unto Mortal sin, or to commit, or intend to commit any thing contrary to the Law of God. Secondly, whatsoever person he be, that maintaineth such opinion, we renounce him, and his opinion as devilish and abominable. Thirdly, we protest before God, That all Priests, who ever conversed with us, have acknowledged your Majestie their lawful Queen, *tam de jure, quam de facto*, as well of right, as for your actual possession of the Crown; that they pray for you, and exhort your Subjects to obey you. Fourthly, and lastly, they profess, that it is heresie, and contrary to Catholike faith to think, that any man may lift up his hand against Gods Anointed. Tis true, the Petition had no other success with

with her Majestie then this, *viz.* that Master *Shelley*, who presumed to commit such a Treason, as to present it, was suffered to be sent to the Marshalsea, by order of Secretary *Walsingham*, and there to be kept prisoner to his dying day; onely upon this pretence, *Scilicet*, because the Councel had not been first acquainted with the business. Howbeit, by this supplication the world may cleerly see, They answer the Six Articles, which in those times used to be so commonly and captiously propounded to such men, framed by Doctor *Hammon*, *viz.* Whither the Queen were lawful Queen, notwithstanding the sentence Decleratory of Pope *Pius Quintus* against her? whither that sentence were to be obeyed in all things? Whither the Pope by such sentence could give her Subjects any lawful Authority to rebel, or depose her, &c. For if she be their lawful Sovereign, notwithstanding that sentence; and that obedience and loyalty be due unto all lawful Princes

Princes by the Law of God, and of nature, it is eaſie to ſee, what muſt be ſaid to ſuch queſtions. According alſo as Biſhop *Watſon*, Abbot *Fecknam*, Doctor *John Harpsfeild*, Doctor *Nicholas Harpsfeild*, with others, (who were very often and rigidly examined upon them, yet) profeſſed perpetually obedience to her Majeſtie, *tanquam veræ Reginæ*, as unto their true and lawful Sovereign. Yea ſaith Doctor *Nicholas Harpsfeild* (reported by *Goldaſtus* a Proteſtant) *Ego regalem ejus Authoritatem*, &c. *I do acknowledge*, ſaith he, *her Royal Authority in all Temporal and Civil affairs without exception.* They preſented the like humble ſupplication to his Majeſtie that now reigneth, ſome while after the diſcovery of that wicked and deſperate Plot of the Gun-powder-treaſon; another to the Parliament then ſitting; and another to the Earl of *Salisbury*: in all of them profeſſing the ſame things. And though it hindred not the paſſing of ſome ſevere Acts againſt Catholikes

Goldaſt. de Monar. Sac. Imp. Rom.

tholikes in that Parliament, occasioned (as I suppose) by that foul and horrid attempt, yet the King himself in his Proclamation published upon that subject, gratiously professeth his opinion of the generality of his Catholike Subjects, *viz. That they did abhor such a detestable Conspiracy, no less then himself.* True it is, *F. Garnet* suffered for concealing that Treason; and Sir *Everard Digby*, for contributing in some sort to the security, or rather flight of some of the Conspirators. But as the one, *viz.* Sir *Everard Digby*, much lamented his ill fortune, that he should leave behinde him the memory of so great a stain; protesting always, that he was never made privy to their design and drift: So the other, *viz. F. Garnet*, knowing it onely (as he did) in the way of confession; and the Seal of that Sacrament (which is *Secrecy*,) being, by the Doctrine of Catholike Religion, and that not without most just and necessary cause, esteemed

NB. ***

med so inviolable, it may abate something, even in the judgement of man, of that Heynousnes of guilt and blame, whereof all good Christians otherwise must necessarily condemn him. In a word how much Catholikes in general, and especially Priests do detest rebellion and Treason, even in times of greatest affliction and pressure; and what Religious observers they are of all just loyalty and obedience to their lawful Princes, appears cleerly, not onely by a book written in those times by the learned Bishop of *Chichester*, Doctor *Christopherson* *against rebellion*; but also by the Annotations of the Divines at *Rhemes* upon the New Testament; where *Pag.* 301. we read thus. *Subjects*, saie they, *are bound in Temporal things to obey even the Heathen, being their lawful Kings, and to be subject to them for Conscience, to observe their Temporal Laws, to pay them Tribute, to pray for them, and to perform, all other duties of Natural Allegiance.* Doctor *Kellison* in his Survey

Survey goeth further, giving the reaſon of this. *Becauſe*, ſaith he, *Faith is not neceſſarily required to juriſdiction, neither is any Authority loſt by the loſs of Faith.* Which is alſo the Doctrine of Saint *Thomas*, who in his Book, *de Regim. Princip.* Cap. 6. denieth utterly *Poſſe Tyrannum a quoquam*, &c. *That a Prince, though Tyrant, can be put to death by any private Authority.* And at a Councel held at *Oxford* under *Steven Langton* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* about the year 1228. Excommunication is decreed againſt all ſuch as violate the Kings Peace, or diſturb the State of the Kingdom. Yea the Councel of Conſtance Seſs 15. declares it to be an error in Faith to hold otherwiſe. *Nuper accepit ſancta ſynodus*, &c. *This Holy Synod*, ſaie the Fathers of it, *hath been lately informed, that certain erronious opinions are holden, contrary to Peace and good Eſtate of the Commonwealth*, viz. *That a Tyrant may be lawfully and meritoriouſly taken away and killed by any Subject or Vaſſal of his,*

bis, &c. *Non obstante quocunque juramento*, &c. *Notwithstanding whatsoever Oath of Fidelity or Allegiance, that he hath made to him. Such Doctrine*, saith the Councel, *is contrary both to Faith and Manners, and whosoever shall hold it pertinaciously, are Hereticks, and as such to be proceeded against, according to the Canons.*

13. What can be said, or desired more? upon the Parricide of *Henry* the Fourth, King of *France*, the Parliament of *Paris*, a Court ever most studious of their Princes safety, and extreamly vigilant against the encroaching of any forreign power contrary to his just Authority in Temporal causes, yet thought it sufficient to publish this decree of the Church against the Assassinates of Princes, both to shew the heinousness of the crime, as also, how much the Catholike Doctrine doth condemn such practises. So that hereby, as in a Glass, the world might see the integrity of Catholike Loyalty; if

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men would judge of them, not by the private, and perhaps misinterpretatable assertions of some particular Doctors, but by these publike and avowed principles of their beleef. This is the *Basis* on which they build, the rule by which they walk and govern themselves, in point of obedience towards their Sovereign Princes. Or if they would judge of them by their proceedings and addresses to their Superiors, their frequent petitions, professions, protestations of all just obedience, will sufficiently cleer them; If by their practice and manner of life; their quiet deportment, their peaceable manner of living and converfing with all men, yea their prayers (which they daily make unto Allmighty God in the behalf of their Prince; and for the happiness of their Country) do shew, how innocent they are, and how little they deserve those black aspersions and calumnies of Treason, Rebellion, Disloyalty, *Et quid non?* which some men are so diligent to

cast

cast upon them. Yea, (to speak with no greater confidence, then we justly may) they shew, how much more secure Princes may be, and how much better Tye and assurance they have of Catholikes Loyalty, then either of *Lutherans* or *Calvinists*. For although Protestants do seem sometimes to teach obedience to the Civil Magistrate very freely, and that it is sin for private Subjects to resist them; as for Example *Melanchon* in his Epitome of Moral Philosophy makes it *Peccatum Mortale*, No less matter then *Mortal Sin*, (I use his own words,) *To violate the Temporal Laws of the Magistrates*: Yet is their Doctrine so clogged with exceptions, so many limitations and Provisc's, as it were, are commonly added to it, that Princes, especially such as differ from them in Religion, cannot finde, (I say not full and plenary, but not so much as) probable or competent security from them. *Melanchon*, in the place before mentioned, limiteth himself

ſelf thus, *Debet autem hæc ſententia*, &c. *But this which I have delivered*, ſaith he, *concerning obedience to the Civil Magiſtrates muſt be rightly underſtood*, viz. *of ſuch Magiſtrates as command nothing contrary to the Law of God*; as all Catholike Princes do in his opinion. What ſecurity therefore have they from his Doctrine? Beſide we have ſhewen before according to his doctrine, *the people or inferior Magiſtrates may reform Religion, and overthrow Idolatry*, as they call it, *without any publike Authority or Commiſſion*. So that if the Juſtices of the Peace in ſome County, or but the Petty Conſtables in Towns, do beleeve the Religion profeſſed by the Prince, or State to be Idolatrous, and not according to Gods word, they are diſcharged of obedience by *Melanchon*, and may fall to reforming ſolely of themſelves. And what his Maſter *Luthers* opinions were concerning this matter, hath been ſufficiently ſhewen already; there need be no repetition of them here. *Danæus* teacheth the ſame

Lib. de Conſenſ. Evang.

Lib. 6. Polit. c. 3. or worse. So doth *Peter Martyr on Judges Cap.* 11. and in his Common places. And *Althusius Politic. Cap.* 35. P. 37. where among other causes of a *Just War* maintained by Subjects against their Sovereigns, *Puræ Religionis defensio, defence of True Religion* hath the Second place. Yea it is well known, that *Sureau* a Protestant Minister in *France*, otherwise called *Rosieres*, wrote a Book expresly on this subject, That it was lawful to kill *Charls* the Ninth, his natural Sovereign, and the Queen-Mother, *if they would not obey the Gospel.* But to conclude with one instance for all. The *Hugonots* of *France* having in the Nine and thirtieth Article of their Confession professed *That men ought to be obedient to the Laws, to pay Tributes, and to bear the Yoke of subjection quietly, even under unbelieving Magistrates,* They adde a limitation, which corrupts and nullifies all that they had said, *viz. Dummodo Dei summum imperium integrum maneat, so long* onely as God's Supream Authority

Belfor. lib. 6. cap. 103.

chority is entirely acknowledged; which under the Government of an Infidel Magistrate, cannot be easily conceived. Therefore upon the matter they profess nothing, but abuse their Prince and the world with bare words; as it is usuall with them to do. Which is yet more evident, by the Declaration, which their Synod at *Bearn* in the year 1572. purposely made of this Article and of the Limitation of it. *Dei imperium dicitur manere illibatum, cum Rex exterminatâ Catholicâ Religione, &c. Gods Sovereign Authority,* say they, *is then understood to be entirely acknowledged, when the King abolishing or rooting out Catholike Religion, shall set himself to advance onely the true and pure worship of God,* that is to say, that which is so in their sense and opinion. But to do this is it a thing to be supposed of an Infidel Prince, to whom they pretend to profess subjection? or is it to be expected of a Catholike? Therefore I say, they contradict themselves apparenly in their- Poplon. nier. lib. 34.

profession and do indeed profess nothing *really*, but that they are Impostors; and deserve to be branded with Characters of jealousie and distrust by all the Princes & States of Christendom. The book called *Comment. de Statu Relig. &c.* a Protestant piece, is ful of such stuff, but especially, *Pt.* 2. *Lib.* 12. *Cap.* 1. where he affirmeth expressly, That in all Oaths of Allegiance and Duty there is this condition always implyed at least, and necessarily to be understood, *viz.* we shall obey *so long as you govern lawfully, and not longer*. And hence it was, that the Prince of *Conde* protested, *Anno* 1577. that the oath which some *Hugonots* had taken not to bear arms or fight against their King anymore, &c. was *factum contra Deum & bonos mores*, *contrary to the law of God, and their duty*, and therefore could not oblige any. He had it from *Calvin*, who *Lib.* 4. *Institut. c.* 13. *Sect.* 21. teacheth, *Quibuscunq; hujus Evangelii lux effulget*, &c. *When men come once to be illuminated with the light of his Gospel, they are presently*

Poplonneir. lib. 41.

ſently abſolved from all former Snares and Oaths whatſoever, that ſhould entangle their Conſcience, that is oblige them to the performance of any good work, or duty, more, then they have a minde to. *Sic dixit Calvinus.*

But I confeſs, there are ſome few particular, or rather perſonal objections made from ſome pretended matter of fact, againſt that which hath been ſaid of Catholikes Loyalty, wherein tis neceſſary, that the Reader ſhould have ſome reaſonable ſatisfaction. This done, the concluſion will be cleer, which at firſt I undertook to declare, *viz.* That there is nothing in Catholike Religion inconſiſtent with Loyalty; and that Catholikes are *de facto*, in the truth of their practice, better Subjects, generally ſpeaking, then Proteſtants have ſhewen themſelves to be, or indeed can well be, ſtanding to their principles. Theſe objections are but few, and therefore I ſhall diſpatch them breifly. The firſt is 14.

brought against Doctor *Allen*, for teaching to murther Princes, in a certain Apology, which he wrote of the Seminaries, & citing *Num.* 25. to that purpose. I answer, The mistake is very great; it was not Doctor *Allen*, but Doctor *Goodman* (if we may call him so) that citeth that Text of *Numbers* to that purpose. His words are these: *Factum illud quod memoratur* Num. 25. *perpetuum est exemplum in omnem æternitatem*, &c. *That which is reported*, saith he, in *Num.* 25. *viz.* of taking the *Heads of the people* that had committed Idolatry, and hanging them up before the Lord, *is an example upon record to all posterity, and a duty for ever lying upon the people, that in the like case they deal with their Governors in like manner*, that is, *that they take them and Hang them up against the Sun, when they withdraw the people from the true worship of God. And although*, saith he, *it may seem a great disorder, that Common people should take so much Authority upon them, yet when the inferior*

Goodm. Obedien.

inferior Magistrate neglecteth his office, the Common people must be looked upon, as having no Magistrate at all to direct them: and in such case God puts the Sword immediately into their hands, and is their Captain and guide in the work. This I say, is all *Goodmans* Doctrine, and not Doctor *Allens*; into whose thoughts it never came to conceive, much less to publish such Paradoxes of sedition. All that he teacheth tends rather to the contrary, *viz.* to keep people in their due bounds, and to exhort them not to be transported by any unadvised or evil passions against their governors under a pretence of zeal. He confesseth indeed, 'tis a thing commendable, when men are zealous for true Religion; but he adviseth, that they act *modo & Tempore*, *in due manner*, that is, no otherwise then lawfully they may, and with regard unto all other acknowledged rules of a good conscience; and *in due season*, that is, not untill they be called thereto by lawful Authority:

Num. 25. 45. as in the case of the Idolatrous *Israelites*: and the place alledged is plain; The people acted nothing but by command of *Moses*, who was Supream Magistrate: Neither did he command any thing to be done, but from the mouth of God, and according to the express Law, *Deut.* 13. This is not to put the Sword into the peoples hand, and to permit them to execute their fiery zeal upon whom they please, under a pretence of punishing Idolatry, and rooting out Superstition; especially such, as no man judgeth to be so but themselves.

2. The Second objection is made by Doctor *Sutcliff* in his *Turcopapismus* against Father *Parsons*, *viz.* that he suborned or hired *Roderick Lopez*, a *Portugheß*, and some others to kill the Queen: Which Treason, saith he, was discovered by the Earl of *Essex*. I answer, it is like the Tale of *Peter Panny*, that was reported to be hired by *Mavaræus* a Doctor of *Doway* and Provincial of the Jesuites, to kill Count *Maurice*; which

which upon examination proveth but a Fable, and so will this. For first, was there any person named in that Action, but *Lopez* and his Countrimen, that is, some *Portugbesses* and *Spaniards*? I have seen and read all the Examinations taken in that business, wherein all the circumstances thereof are declared, The Ayders, Movers, Actors, all nominated: There is not the least mention of Father *Parsons* in the whole business, from first to last. Secondly, when Master *Egerton* at *Guild-hall* so largely and eloquently urged all he could, did he so much as once name Father *Parsons*? Or was he a man likely to forget him, if he had found or thought him any way Accessory? Beside all this, *F. Parsons* himself was known to be a man not of that weakness (whatsoever men will think of his honesty) as to venture his reputation, life, interest and all so unadvisedly in a forreign bottom, and subject to so many leaks, as that was. This therefore may

grass for a scandalous Fiction and Hear-say, but no more. 3. A Third objection is made against *Parry*, and sounded aloud in all mens eares, as a reproach and stain indelible to Catholike Religion. The sum of the charge is, that *Parry* was incited by the Popes Letters to kill the Queen. I answer, The Acts or process it self of his Examination and Tryal do shew, that having conference with Master *Wats* a Seminary Priest about this business, the said Master *Wats* disliked both his motion and attempt, and told him, that *it was a thing unlawful that he went about*: As likewise did some other Priests also, when they understood the business. Secondly, at *Lyons* coming to *F. Creighton* a Jesuite, and after Confession discovering his intention to him, out of some Confidence, it seems, that the good man would bite at such a bait, he found himself as much mistaken here, as before. For the Father resolves him, *That it was utterly unlawful*, and useth diverse reasons

reasons to diſwade him from any further proceeding, as *Parry* himſelf confeſſeth to the Queen, and *Holinſhead* in his Chronicle doth acknowledge: So that already both the Prieſt and Jeſuites are acquited. There remains onely the Letter of Cardinal *Como* to be conſidered. Touching which we are to know, this *Parry* had lived in *Italy*, as a Spy, a long time, and being upon his return, was deſirous to furniſh himſelf with a project, that might ſerve his turn in *England* both ways, that is, both to abuſe Catholikes, (as he did, by pretence of the Popes Letters,) and to deceive the Queen. Therefore having found ſo little encouragement at *Lyons*, as we have ſaid, he travels to *Paris*, and endeavors to inſinuate himſelf with Father *Parſons*, (who was there at that time, with the Lord *Paget*) but with no better ſucceſs to his deſigns, then he had found before with *F. Creighton* and Maſter *Wats*. Howbeit by ſome means he procured himſelf

acceſs

acceſs to the Popes Nuncio then reſident in the City, to whom he preſents a Letter written in Italian by himſelf, which he deſires might be recommended by the ſaid Nuncio to his Holineſs; which was done. In this Letter he confeſſeth firſt, what great wrongs he had done to the *Engliſh* Catholikes in former time; but was now returning into *England*, intending to make them ſome ſatisfaction by his ſervice there: And to that end deſired the Approbation and Benediction of his Holineſs; not ſpecifying any thing in particular, what he intended; as may be ſeen by his Letter, which is upon Record. To this Letter of *Parry*, Cardinal *Como* anſwereth in the Popes name, in ſuch manner as every man knows. For the Cardinals Letter is common to be ſeen. Let any man read and examine it, if there be any particular ſervice intimated, or any Treaſonable or ſeditious directions given; but onely a general encouragement to

to a *good work* (as least that might be presumed so by those who wrote, knowing nothing to the contrary) which was onely in general offered. And what reasonable man can think, that his Holiness could do less in such a case, then he did, *viz.* then to command a Complement to be returned unto a kindness, which for ought appeared, was offered onely in Complement? To have denied that, His Holiness must have seem'd to slight too much the opinion of his Nuncio; by whose recommendation the Letter of *Parry* was presented at *Rome*: And who indeed (if any) was the man surprized in the business, by giving so much credit to a person not sufficiently known to him. The truth is, *Parry*'s designs were malicious every way; both in respect of the Catholikes, with whom he intended, by means of the said Letters, to insinuate himself so far (if he could) and to gain such confidence with them, as to be able at least, when time

time should be, to do some of them mischief: and in respect of the Queen, whom he abused along time, pretending, by colour of the self same Letters, that he was really suborned and sent by the Pope to attempt some violence upon her Majestie. Being therefore furnished some thing to his minde, (as aboveſaid) he departeth privately from *Paris*, without so much as taking leave of *F. Parsons*, as by whom he found neither himself nor his business to be much regarded) and procures a Pass to be sent him from the Lord *Burleigh* to come into *England*, upon pretence that he had some great matters to impart to the Queen. So he came; the Queen heard him: and he informed, *That the Jesuites had moved him to kill her.* But not being able to name any in *England*, he was dismissed, on purpose to be a Spy here at home, and to discover such Catholikes to the Counsel, as perhaps, might be found less affectionate towards her person. And to

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gain him the better credit with them, *viz.* the Catholikes, it was ordered so, that he was once very formally convented in Parliament, where he so boldly defended Catholike Religion, and the Catholikes of *England*; that the Parliament it self, not knowing, that all was but out of design by the Queen and her Counsel, committed him to the Tower: Which did indeed very much encrease his reputation with the Priests and Fathers here. But his liberty was soon procured, and himself had such continual access to the Queen, such favor with the Treasurer and others, that once he had no small hopes to have been made Master of Saint *Katharines*. Howbeit the Counsel perceiving him but to faulter, and fail in the main business, *viz.* of betraying Catholikes, and especially in the business of the Lord *Latimor*, (whom the Treasurer would fain have caught in *Parries* net) himself at last became suspected, and entangled by degrees in such Snares,

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as he could never winde himself out, but perished in that manner, which he had justly deserved, and for which no man lamented him.

35. A Fourth objection is against *F. Richard Walpoole* of the Society; who was accused by one *Squire* upon the Rack, to have encouraged him to poyson the Queen. The Story is thus. The said *Squire*, and one *Rolls*, being in a Pinnace of Sir *Francis Drakes* in the year 1596. were taken by *Don Pero Tellio*, and brought prisoners to *Sivil*: where F. *Parsons*, (happening to be there at that time) procured for them liberty, and also necessary apparel, and so sent them home. At Saint *Lucars*, through their own indiscretion, they fall into the Inquisition, and are thereupon remanded back again to *Sivil*; where this said Father *Walpoole* then being, was as ready to do them charitable offices in their necessity, as Father *Parsons* had been before. So he procured them liberty the Second

cond time, not indeed to depart without leave, but to be forthcoming, when they ſhould be called to appear: and to this he engaged his credit, having firſt made proviſion of neceſſary ſubſiſtance for *Rolls* in the Jeſuites Colledge, and for *Squire* in a Monaſtery. But they both fled away ſecretly, and left Father *Walpoole* in the Lurch to anſwer for them: yet afterwards ſending him Letters to excuſe their ſuddain departure; which he alſo produced for his diſcharge. So they came into *England*. And as it happens ſometimes with Travellers, eſpecially of ſuch quality as they were, to talk of much more then is true, and to pretend acquaintance abroad with thoſe, which perhaps they ſcarce ever ſaw; ſo it ſeems this *Squire* in his diſcourſes of the intimacy and familiarity which he had with Jeſuites, and ſuch men abroad, did overſhoot himſelf ſo far, as to let fall ſomething capable of miſconſtruction, and which an Adverſary of his,

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one *Stallenge*, catching up at the second hand, made shift to improve into an accusation of Treason against the said *Squire*, *viz.* That he had been Counselled by a Jesuite to poyson the Queen, and concealed it. But let the Reader consider circumstances well, and then weigh the Endictment. *Squire* is accused, that Father *Walpoole* moved and instructed him to poyson the Queen, and preached to him at his departure to that purpose. Is this probable? For first they fled both of them away secretly from *Sivil*, *Squire* and *Rolls* together, without Father *Walpooles* knowledge, and as 'tis generally known to be true. Secondly, *Squire* was a man, that always professed himself a Protestant, in *Spain* as well as in *England*; and so died. Who can dream that Father *Walpoole* knowing this, as well as himself, should make such a proposition to him? Thirdly, both at his arraignment and death he constantly denied any such matter

ter to have been propounded to him by any person on earth. And though having bin upon the Rack no less then five times, the torture made him at last to speak something against himself, yet he afterwards constantly denied it, even to his death. And all men know, an argument from the Rack, especially when 'tis afterwards disavowed, is reckoned elsewhere but a mean evidence or proof. Fourthly he was a man that had a Wife and Children in *England*, and therefore not likely to be drawn into such a plot, but upon some great and present temptation; which how unable a man Father *Walpoole* was to undertake, the world knows: being only a Priest of the Society, a poor Religious man, and under superiors. Fifthly, *Rolls*, his companion, who came along with him, never heard of any such thing, nor was ever questioned about it. Lastly, the device it self was as ridiculous and improbable, as any thing could be.

be. It was to be done (*Scilicet* this Treason) by poysoning the Queens Saddle. But how is it possible to imagine such a thing should be done by a stranger, and neither the Groomes of the Stable, nor the Querries (which are continually attending upon the Queens Horse) discover the business; none of which were ever questioned about it. *Mariana*'s Problematicall opinion is a Fifth objection; as it happens. But I shall not stand long about it. First, because it was but a private opinion, not any general Doctrine of Catholikes. Secondly because it was onely propounded by him *problematically*, *viz.* in way of disputation, not *positively* taught, as his own words shew. Thirdly, because his whole Order disavowed it, *viz.* in a Congregation held at *Paris Anno* 1606. confirmed by their General *Claudius Aquaviva*. Cardinal *Tolet* Categorically determineth the contrary, *Summa. Lib.* 5. *Cap.* 6. as likewise doth *Gregor. Valent. Part.* 2. *Q.* 64. *Card. Bellarm.*

Bellarm. Apolog. Cap. 13. *Salmeron in Cap.* 13. *ad Rom. Less. de Justit. & Jure, Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 9. *Dub.* 4. *Serrar. in Cap.* 13. *Judic. Azorius Institut. Moral. Becanus ad Aphorism.* 9. *Gretser* in his *Vespertilio*, or *Hæretico-Politicus. Richeome* in his Apology. Lastly, the Doctors of the Sorbon, as they had done formerly, *viz. Anno* 1413. so now again *Anno* 1606 they declare it to be *an unlawful and wicked Position.* As for *Simancha*, he may seem rather a Lawyer then a Divine, and must be understood to speak according to particular Laws or Constitutions of some Nations, and Kingdoms; and whosoever will but read *Heisius* his *Resp. ad Aphorismos*, especially *Pag.* 85. & 91. shall easily perceive, that neither *Simancha* nor *Becanus* were guilty of that error. Master *Cuthbert Mayn*'s bringing of a Bull, or Breve of the Pope into *England* is a Sixth. And for such a pretended Treason he was executed at *Launston*, upon Saint *Andrews* day, 1577. as *Stow* saith in his Chronicles,

cles, *for preferring of Roman power.* His Indictment was for bringing in the said Bull; and for reconciling of Master *Tregion.* But as for Master *Tregion* it is answered already, That he was reconciled unto God and to the Communion of his Church; and not obliged to any particular service in behalf of the Pope in one kinde or other. And concerning the Bull, whereas the Law intends it in cleer words, that the party accused should procure it immediately from *Rome*, it was answered in behalf of Master *Mayne*, that he never sought nor procured any Bull from *Rome.* That which he had was onely the Copy of a Bull printed, which he bought at *Doway*, *onely to peruse and see the manner of it*; neither was it a Bull for reconciling any man, or for doing any thing prejudicial to the Queen, or State; but onely a Bull of the Jubily that was passed. Which as it is a thing granted of course by the Pope every Five and twenty years, and not at the Suit

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or instance of any particular person; so was it also out of date and force when he bought it, being expired with the year 1575. and so upon the matter was no more then a Scroll, or an Almanack of the last year. And yet notwithstanding, because such a Paper as this was found about him, and that he refused to come to Church, Judge *Manwood* told the Jury, *That where manifest proofs could not be had, presumptions must be allowed*: So the Jury quickly found him guilty upon such direction, and he suffered. Master *Tregion* lay a long time in prison among Felons, and in a Dungeon most noysome, fed with bread and water; although he were a Gentleman of One thousand pound *per annum* of old Rent: But being condemned in a *Premunire*, for harbouring a Priest, his Lands were seized by Writ into the Exchequer; and though they were Entailed, yet could the Knight Marshal finde means to avoid that, and so begd them of the Queen. Lastly,

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the whole buſineſs reſted upon the accuſation of one *Twigg*, a Pariſh Clerk; which was alſo falſe; for he depoſed againſt Maſter *Mayne* for Chriſtmaſs 1575. when it was certainly known, that he was at that time at *Doway*.

16. The Riſing in the North, and the Attempts of *Babington* in the buſineſs of the Queen of Scots, were mixt Actions, not for Religion onely, nor State onely; but for both: Nor were they procured by the ſuit or ſollicitation of Prieſts or Religious men, but out of their own zeal who were engaged in thoſe Attempts. The firſt, as ſome have ſaid, was but the effect of a reſolution, which many of the Lords of the Councel had taken to pull down *Cecil*, who, being but Secretary, and a very new man at Court, over-acted his part, and had given no ſmall matter of offence to ſome of the greateſt Lords; but by a timely ſubmiſſion he made means to qualifie them: and ſo the buſineſs was not owned, ſo far as other-

And. Philop.

otherwiſe it might have been. The other, *viz.* of *Babington* and his Aſſociates, was onely to deliver out of an unjuſt priſon, the perſon of an abſolute Princeſs, and one who was no way a ſubject of *England*, further, ſay they, then ſhe was by fraud procured ſo to be; nor an enemy, further then ſhe was forced by injuries, and a deſire to ſee her ſelf at liberty. Howbeit for this reſpect they are not within compaſs of my undertaking. Nor am I to ſay any more concerning the Sentence Declaratory of *Pius Quintus* againſt the Queen. The grounds and reaſons thereof are alledged in the Bull it ſelf; to which may be added many unſeemly and ſcandalous provocations dayly given by the New Miniſters out of the Pulpits, calling him *Anticbriſt*, *the Man of Sin*, *the Son of Perdition*, and what not? which the Queen and State were content publikely to connive at, and countenance. Others attribute it to miſ-information, and that his Holineſs was not

made rightly to understand the Queenes case, and of the Catholikes of *England*. And this is certain, that many godly, wise, and judicious Catholikes, both of the Clergy and others, were not a little grieved at the manner of proceeding, and wish'd rather (Cardinal *Allen* himself, Bishop *Watson*, and others) that it had been *wholly left to the judgement of God*; As we see well enough, it had been in other cases of this Nature; Neither in King *Edward* the Sixths time, nor against the Kings of *Scotland*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, Duke of *Saxony*, Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, or any other Protestant Prince, was there ever any such sentence issued to this day. Whereupon Father *Parsons*, and Father *Campian* procured some kinde of mitigation concerning it, presently after the publishing; and Pope *Gregory* following declared, *That the Subjects of* England *ought to perform all duties to* Queen Elizabeth, *notwithstanding the censures*. So little reason is there

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in truth, that Protestants should clamour so loud as they do, and cry out nothing but *Treason, Treason*, against religious and good men; who, as they have no other business, so come they hither for no other end, but to do them good, and, so far as lieth in their power and office, to save their souls. They tell the world, that no less then two hundred Priests have been executed in *England for Treason*, since the times of Reformation; which is certainly a very heavy report, and sufficient to make them odious to all the world, if it were true, or that there were any thing in it but fallacie and equivocation of words; whiles they call that Treason in *England*, which in all parts of *Christendome* besides is both called and counted Religion and the highest Vertue. For we beseech them to tell us of what Treason do they convict us at any time, but the Treason of *being a Priest?* the Treason *to say Mass?* the Treason *to refuse the Oath?* the Treason *to*

absolve Penitents confessing their sins? the Treason to restore men to the Communion of the Church? the Treason to Preach and Administer Christs Sacraments? the Treason to be bred up in the Seminaries, that is, in such places, where onely, (as things now stand in England) they can be Catholikely bred, and acted for such Christian imployment? What actual and real Treason is in England, according to the true sense and notion of that crime (odious both to God and man) the Statute of 25 Edw. 3. will inform us better then any other, being enacted when the whole Kingdom was of one mind and of one judgement (as all Christian Kingdoms and Societies ought to be) not rent, nor overborn by factions and parties, undermining and supplanting one another by indirect and undue meanes, as it was when these new Statutes of Treason were made. By that Statute, and by the opinions of the most learned Judges in England, Plowden, Stamford, &c. Treason must alwayes

wayes be some Action, or Intention actually discovered; not an opinion onely, or a profession of Religion. And this is the reason why Sir *John Oldcastle*, (one of Mr. *Stow.* *Fox* his Martyrs, in the Reign of *Henry* the Fifth mentioned before) though he were both Traytor and Heretike; yet for his Treason he was condemned in one County, and for his Heresie in another: as also were *Cranmer* and *Ridley* in Queen *Maries* time. Secondly, it must be some Act, or Intention discovered of a subject prejudicial to his Sovereign, or to the State where he lives. But what hurt had ever (I say not Queen *Mary*, *Henry* the Eighth (while he stood right) *Henry* the Seventh, or any other Catholike Prince, but even) Queen *Elizabeth* her self, King *James*, or any other Protestant Prince, by a Priests saying Mass, absolving of Penitents, preaching of sound Doctrine to them, and particularly of allidue and just obedience to Civil Magistrates, as they have ever con-

ſtantly done? Therefore by the common Laws of *England*, and *in it ſelf* it is not, it cannot be Treaſon or criminous *to be a Prieſt*, *to ſay Maſs*, *Abſolve*, &c. But onely by Statute Laws it is *made ſo* upon temporary and preſent occaſions, and for certain politick ends, which men have projected of themſelves, and which they are reſolved to follow. And therefore alſo it is by the very Statutes themſelves provided 22. and 27. *Elizab.* That if a Prieſt conforms, be content to go to Church, to renounce the Pope or his Orders, &c. he becomes *ipſo facto* without more ado, *Reſtus in Curia*, and is actually diſcharged of all imputation of Treaſon; no further proceedings lie againſt him. Yea even at the very place of Execution, and when the inſtruments of death are upon him, yet ſtill 'tis in his own power, if he pleaſe, in three words to pardon himſelf, and fruſtrate the expectation of ſo many eyes, as are commonly waiting to ſee his laſt *Exit*. Let him but,

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say, *I will conform*, or *I will swear*, &c. Ther's no man living dares meddle with him further. Which is far otherwise where the offence is judged to be *Treason indeed*, and really prejudicial to the Prince or State. But the fatal resolution being taken to *change Religion*, upon a principle or pretended reason of State, as false as the Counsel it self was evil, *viz. That otherwise the Queen could not be secure either of her Kingdom or Life*, it was necessary to take a severe course with those men, whose Function obliged them to maintain True Religion, and to endeavour to reduce things again into the old State. From this root also sprang their extream jealousie and hatred of the Queen of *Scots*. For she being Heir Apparent to the Crown after Queen *Elizabeth*, and a Princess zealously affected unto Catholike Religion, and so strongly Allied in *France*, Those Statesmen, who had contrived and wrought all the alterations here, could never think themselves se-

cure, ſo long as her head ſtood upon her ſhoulders. Therefore was ſhe firſt invited into *England*, upon pretence of Friendſhip, and for Safety: But when ſhe was here uſed with ſo much unkindneſs, and kept under reſtraint for little leſs then twenty years together, that at laſt, in order to procure her Liberty, ſhe was indeed provoked to doe ſomething, which it was eaſie for them who loved her not, to interpret to be Treaſon: and ſo they cut off her head. From hence alſo ſprung thoſe continual injuries and practiſes of much ingratitude againſt the King of *Spain*, The intercepting of his Treaſure, The holding of his Towns, The ayding of *Orange* and the States, as hath been ſaid. Laſtly, from this onely Source and Fountain of unjuſt Policie ſprung all thoſe laws of ſeverity and bloud againſt Recuſants, as we are commonly called, viz. of *Twenty pound a moneth*, of *Two third parts of Eſtate*, againſt *Hearing Maſs*, againſt *Harbouringa Prieſt*,

Priest, against *being reconciled*, &c.
It is well known, the Recusants of *England*, against whom those Laws were made, were generally persons, in all degrees, of the Noblest quality in this Nation, Vertuous, Grave, Wise, Charitable, Just, and Good men, of fair and friendly Conversation towards all: I shall not say, Loyal to their Prince, because the contrary is so commonly beleeved; yet our own Chronicles will not altogether deny them right in that regard, while they testifie how diligent and forward they were to offer their service to the Queen and State, even in that great Action of Eighty eight. Neither were they altogether refused by her Majesty. They were also generally men of plentiful Fortunes and good Estates; and are so still, except such as the Lawes and hard times have impoverished. Yet because for Conscience sake they refuse to hear Common-prayer and Sermons, to receive the Communion according to the new order of

Stow.

the Church of *England*, they ſtand by Law, as it were, marked out for deſtruction, and branded with all the Characters of ignominy, ſuſpition, and prejudice, which the people of any State, even for the greateſt crimes actually commited, can juſtly ſuffer. It is reported by a great Lawyer of this Nation, that from *primo Elizab.* till the Bull of *Pius Quintus* was publiſhed, which was about half a ſcore or a dozen years after, *No perſon in* England *refuſed to come to Church*; as if perchance that Bull had been the ſole occaſion which Catholikes took to diſobey the Queens Injunctions. But it is a great error. For not to ſpeak any thing of Puritans (many of whom before that time refuſed the Church-Service) how many Biſhops and Prieſts were there in *England*, known and profeſſed Recuſants from the firſt beginning? How many Noblemen and Gentlemen of account did openly and abſolutely refuſe to joyn with their New Church? It is true, and to

Sir *Edw. Cook.*

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be lamented, The revolt of the *English* under Queen *Elizabeth* from the true Catholike Religion, so lately restored, was too general; and too many there were, who suffered themselves to be carried away with the stream of Authority, and with the evill example of their Neighbors, and especially of Great Ones. But what is this but a general infirmity and weakness commonly observed in the people? What Form soever of Religious Profession a State sets up, it proves an Idol to them, and they are apt to fall down before it; yea, though the Figure, which they worship, (as it happens sometimes) hath much more of the Calf, then of the Man in it. And for this respect it cannot but be matter of much consideration to all wise States-men, and States, to be well advised how far they proceed in this kinde, *viz.* of establishing or setting up any outward form or profession of Religion whatsoever, especially by any compulsory Acts or Penalties; least

left *the blood of Souls* lye upon their account another day. As most certainly it shall, whensoever people are misled into any corrupt way of Religion, meerly upon the Authority and Resolution of the State. And yet notwithstanding there were in many places of the Kingdom, not a few of worthy and constant Catholikes, who *never bowed their knees unto Baal*, that is, never consented, nor made profession of Heresie one way or other; as *Lanhearne*, *Ashby de la Zouch*, *Grafton*, *Dingley*, *Cowdrey*, and many other places can witness: by whose integrity the Catholike Church in *England*, (*viz.* that *Remnant according to the election of Grace*, which God was pleased to preserve here from the general contagion, to glorifie his name by suffering, and to give Testimony unto Truth) have subsisted and stood by the great mercy of God, unto this day; though indeed suffering grievously for their Conscience, (as God was pleased from

time

time to time to exercise them) by confiscation of their Estates, vexations by Pursivants and Promoters, restraint and imprisonment of their persons, at *Wisbich*, *Ely*, *Banbury*, *York*, *Ludlow*, *Bury*, *the Fleet*, *Gatehouse*, &c. Not to speak any thing of the spoil of their Woods, leasing their Lands, exaction of Fines, nor yet of their *disarming by Law*; because this last, (though it were as unjust and undeserved as the rest, yet) it had more of disgrace and ignominy in it, then of real damage; arguing onely suspition or jealousie, which the State would seem to have of them, and nothing more. But *the Twenty pounds a moneth* was a burden insupportable, especially to the meaner sort: Although it must be confessed, the rigour and extremity thereof was many times moderated by the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*.

Now to compare these men with the Recusant Puritans in *England*, (for such, we must know, there are, more then a good many in all 17

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Countries: All Recusants are not Popish) if it were not too odious, it might be very necessary; and the world could not but see much better, and acknowledge the patience, humility, and obsequious deportment of Catholikes, compared with the others insolency and stoutness. For tis very well seen already, that this growing Sect of Protestant Recusants are not men likely to bear such burdens, should the State finde it necessary to impose them. They discover a far different Spirit, even now, while they are but in their shell, as we may say, and without any visible power or interest within the Nation, save that of their number. Compare them with the Recusant *Hugonots* of *France* (who are Brethren, and of the same principles with ours in *England*) you would think our Catholike Gentlemen here to be all Priests, in respect of their sober, humble, and Christian carriage of themselves, whensoever they fall under question for Religion; Their very Ministers there,

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you would take to be all Sword-men, Captains, Sons of *Mars*, ſo much fury & rage breaths out in every word or action of theirs, which relates to the publike. Catholikes here are perſons of all other moſt unwilling to offend; Recuſants there moſt unwilling to obey. Theſe defend their Religion with their Swords, and by reſiſtance of the Civil Magiſtrate; ours onely with their Pen and with their prayers. Ours endure, and a *Sciacu vredidi* with St. *Paul*, is all their comfort: Theſe endure nothing, wil truſt no body with their cauſe, but themſelves and their Cautionary towns; They have their *Bezas*, Their *Marlorates*, *Chamiers*, and other *Boutefeux* ſwarming thick in all parts of the Kingdom, ready to incenſe and ſet on fire the diſtempered multitude againſt their lawful governors; they have their *Montaubans*, their *Rochels*, *Saumurs*, *Montpelliers*, places of refuge and retreat, ſtrong and well fortified to ſhelter themſelves, when they cannot make good their

deſigns

designs in the field. Catholikes here have none of all these; They have no Preachers, but Preachers of Pennance and Mortification: They hear no Sermons at any time, but such as teach them Obedience, Patience, Resignation to the will of God, and to be willing to suffer whatsoever the will of God is. They have no places of security but their own unarmed houses; which if they change, it is always for the Fleet, Gatehouse, Newgate or som other prison and place of restraint. Much talk there is among Protestants, of the Inquisition, its severity, cruelty, partiality (and what not?) to make it odious and terrible to the people; but verily if a man do well consider it, in comparison of the troubles, vexation, and manifold danger both for life, liberty and estate, whereto the Catholikes of *England*, Priests and Religious persons especially, are subject, it may seem rather a Scare-crow, then any thing else. *Charls* the Fifth Emperor

peror in the year 1521. at *Worms* decreed onely *Exile* against *Luther*, notwithstanding his obstinacy, and all the mischief, which he had brought upon *Germany*; and that his Books should be burned. In the year 1526. at *Mechlin* he enacted a Penalty against Hereticks, and all such as disputed the Controversies of Religion Heretically, or that kept prohibited Books, *viz.* for the first offence Forty shillings, for the Second Four pound, for the Third Eight pound, and Banishment; as the best remedy he could think of to preserve others from infection. In the year 1529. if they repented not of their error, he adjudged *Viris ignem, Mulieribus fossam*, That men should be burned, and women buried alive; which was no more then anciently the Laws prescribed, nor then what *Calvin* himself exercised upon *Servetus* at *Genevah*. In the year 1531. he confirmed these former Acts, with something additional against such as pulled down Images, or defaced

defaced them with any malitious intention, *viz.* that such persons should loose their goods. This is the sum of all those Laws of the Emperor *Charls* the Fifth, concerning Religion, so much complained of in the Low-Countries: and concerning the Execution whereof there were also many exceptions, qualifications and limitations procured by the Regent in the year 1555. upon advise of *Viglius* President of the Counsel at *Brussels*; and to take away all occasions that might possibly hinder Traffick, or be a means of oppression to innocent and quiet people. And for King *Philip*, he always professed (particularly in his answer to *Montigny* in *Spain*) that he intended no addition of severity to his Fathers Laws, nor to create any new offences, but onely to punish those, which were of old censured for offences both by the Church and State. Let us look then upon *England*, and consider, if the penalties upon Catholikes here be not far more

more in number, and much more severe. To acknowledge the Popes Supremacy *in Spiritualibus* is Treason; To be reconciled is Treason; To refuse the Oath, upon the first offence is a *Præmunire*, the second Treason. For Priests to come over into *England* is Treason; if any that were made Priests since *Primo Elizab.* shall stay Forty days in *England* after the Parliament 1585. 'tis Treason. To Harbor a Priest is Felony and Death. If young Students beyond Sea return not, and abjure their Religion it is Treason. To bring in an *Agnus Dei*, Beads, or Crosses is a *Præmunire*; To bring a Bull, or any Sentence of Excommunication from *Rome*, that may concern the Queen is Treason. To absolve or reconcile a man is Treason; Not coming to Church was at first Twelve pence every Sunday, and to be liable to further censure; afterwards, *viz. Twenty seven Elizab.* it was made Twenty pound a moneth, where it could be had:

otherwise

otherwise their bodies were to fine for it in prison. To depart out of the Realm without License, and not to return within Six moneths after the Proclamation is a forfeiture of all Goods and Lands during life. To hear Mass is an offence fined at One hundred Marks. If a mans Son or Servant (not Merchant) goeth beyond Sea with his consent, he forfeits One hundred pounds. I speak nothing of their loss of goods, imprisonments, reproaches, chains, fetters, which upon many other pretended and feigned occasions they are frequently made subject unto: nor of banishment; which would be counted many times matter of great favor. Nor yet of the rigorous and vexatious Execution of all these Laws; which makes the Tower full of such Patients, and new prisons to be erected for the entertainment of them: nor of the hard usage, which they frequently find in those prisons. The sad examples of Master *Tregion* at *Launston*, of Master *Rigby*,

Rigby, of Master *Christopher Watson*, (who perished at *York*) with Eighteen persons more, in the year 1581. with the very infection of the prison) do shew sufficiently what they suffer. Adde hereunto the strict examination of the Justices, the proceedings of the High-Commission against them, (that inquisition of *England* not altogether untruly so called) the multitude of Promoters in all the Temporal Courts of the Kingdom informing against them, of Pursuivants searching and rifling their houses upon every light suspicion, and not seldom without any at all, but onely to make them *Fine*, and to purchase their quiet with money. Lastly, the Racks and Torturings, which Father *Campian*, Father *Southwel*, with many others tasted in their times, how can they be forgotten? concerning whose case, (I mean of Father *Campian* and his Associates especially) beside that the whole matter of their Accusation seemed upon Trial rather to be grounded

upon words and ſome verbal diſcourſe, then upon any Actual deſign or attempt really projected againſt the Queen or the State; and beſide, that at the time of their Tryal (as I have been credibly informed) there were perſons of very Honeſt Quality, who offered to depoſe, that ſundry of the Parties accuſed were, at the times ſpecified in their ſeveral charges, many hundreds of miles diſtant, from the places, where their ſuppoſed Treaſons and Conſpiracies were ſaid to be: I ſay, beſide all this, the Queens unwillingneſs to have them dye, (teſtified by her own Hiſtorian) is argument ſufficient with indifferent men, what great Traytors ſhe conceived them to be. For their Arraignment and Tryal having been in *November* 1581. * they ſuffered not till the firſt of *September* 1582. and then it was *agrè conſentiente Reginâ*, as *Camden* himſelf confeſſeth. They who ſought their lives, had much ado to procure the Queens conſent, that

* *Stow.*

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the Sentence of death ſhould be executed upon them. Surely there is no man ſo extreamly partial or purblinde but will eaſily obſerve, how much greater affliction and preſſures the Catholikes of *England* have endured by the Laws of this Realm, then the *Geuſes* of *Holland* ever did, or could do by the inquiſition among them. And how much more their ſtate and condition might be juſtly commiſerated; eſpecially, when not onely Anabaptiſts, and thoſe other more innocent and harmleſs Sects, but Puritans, great and ſtubborn enemies of the State, Arians, Socinians, yea even Profeſſed Atheiſts, and men of far more violent paſſions and deſtructive principles, then Catholikes can with any reaſon be ſuppoſed to hold, are ſcarce ſearched after, or puniſhed. And yet notwithſtanding all this, to preſerve the Queens reputation for Humanity and fair dealing with her Subjects, the Book called *the Execution of Engliſh Juſtice* will make

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the world beleeve, *That no man in* England *is punished for Religion*, no mans *Conscience* is medled with all, no man is examined *upon matters of Faith*. But is it possible that such a pretence should be sustained by man, so notoriously contrary to truth, so easily, so manifestly disprovable even by sight, and the evidence of their own dayly proceedings? In the year 1581. there was a general Pardon granted by the Queen, but with a strict Caution and Proviso, *That no person in Prison, nor Recusant for Religion*, should have benefit thereby; which Malefactors of all sorts had. Was this no punishment? The Recusants pay Twenty pound a moneth for their Recusancy? is this no punishment? The *Turk* himself layeth not any greater upon the Christians under him. All, or most of the old Catholike Bishops and Clergy of *England* died in prisons, (as Master *Prinn* himself confesseth of the chiefest of them) *among Rogues, Murtherers and Felons in the Marshalsea*;

Antipath. of Prelat.

Marſhalſea; The reſt in *Exile* for Religion; is this no puniſhment? Or was there any other Crime laid to their charge, but onely matter of Religion? Not to ſpeak of many others, Maſter *William Anderſon* in 45. *Elizab.* was executed upon no other charge, but that he was a Prieſt, and then found to be in *England*; ſo was Maſter *Barckworth* in the year 1600. was this no puniſhment? *Anno* 35. *Elizab.* Maſter *Barwis* a Citizen of *London* was executed, for being reconciled to to the Church: and Maſter *Pormort* attainted (at leaſt) for reconciling him; was this no puniſhment? In the year 1575. (as *Holinſhead* himſelf recordeth it for a matter to be noted) The Lady *Morley*, the Lady *Brown*, the Lady *Guildford* were committed all of them to priſon, onely for hearing Maſs, and Leaſes preſently made of two Third parts of their Lands; was this no puniſhment? I might be infinite in examples of this kinde, but it is needleſs; The caſe is manifeſt, and

the ſenſe of the whole Kingdom proclaimes the contrary, to what that Author pretendeth, convincing his aſſertion of not a little impoſture and calumny.

18. To conclude then, the loyalty and obedience of theſe Gentlemen, and other people of all ſorts (which are commonly called Recuſants) towards their King and the State, appears undeniably in all things: not only by their humble petitions to his Majeſty that now is, in the year 1604. and at ſundry times ſince; but by their conſtant and general conformity unto the temporal Government in all Queen *Elizabeths* Reign; by their Proteſtation made at *Ely* in the year 1588. where a great many of them were priſoners; by ſome other offers which they made to the Lord *North*, the Queens Lieutenant there, and by their juſtification of them afterwards; by their ſubmiſſions ſent up to the Lords of the Privy Councel, and their profeſſion of all due acknowledgement towards her Ma-

Majesty, notwithstanding the sentence of Excommunication, by their readiness to serve her Majesty & the State even in that Action of 88. for which they are so calumniated. Lastly by the very *Irish* Recusants joyning their Forces with the Queens at *Kinsale*, in the year 1600. All which Arguments do indeed shew them to be subjects *absolute*, and not *ex conditione*, or by leave of some other, as their adversaries pretend. Let the Reader therefore now judge, if he please, by what hath been said, whether to be a Protestant and a loyal subject, or a Catholike and a loyal subject, be *more incompatible things*. This was the question propounded in the beginning to be declared; and it hath been declared, I suppose, at large, both from their doctrinal affertions, and constant practises in all parts of *Germany*, *France*, *Holland*, *Scotland*, *Geneva*, and many other Countries of *Christendom*, what kinde of people both *Lutherans*, *Calvinists*, and other sectaries generally are towards

their Sovereign Princes. It hath bin shewn, that the chief scope and end of their endeavours, where they come, is to set up their several professions by the Sword, and violent resistance of the Civil Magistrate, doing but his Office in restraining them according to Law; yea with the ruin of the Church and State (both) that shall oppose them. This, I say, both the *Lutherans* in *Germany*, the *Hugonots* of *France*, the *Geuses* of *Holland*, the Protestants and Puritans in all other places where they could, have so apparently done, or attempted to doe, that there is neither colour of excuse for it, nor liberty to deny it. The World knoweth what was endeavored in *Germany* against the Emperor; in *France* how long continued they in Armes against their Sovereign Prince? *viz.* till they had by force (not to say contrary to his Oath) extorted from him such Edicts of Pacification, as themselves liked. And that in *Holland* and *Scotland* (where they had the

the fortune to become Masters) they renounced and deposed their Princes absolutely. On the other side let us consider, how far it is from being true, that wherewith so many Books in *England* have abused the people, *viz.* That *to be a Priest, or a Roman Catholike, and a good Subject withall, is impossible: They are things inconsistent with one another.* For if we look back to former times, we shall easily finde, that from the *Saxons* to King *Henry* the Eighth, it was never made so much as a question, To be a Catholike was never held an hinderance to Loyalty, and ever the Princes had their differences sometimes with the Pope even then. And in the grounds of Catholike Faith there is certainly nothing contrary unto civill obedience, and duty towards the temporal Magistrate. Witness the Government of the Sacred Roman Empire, of the Kingdoms of *Spain*, *France*, *Poland*, and many other Christian Principalities and States: All which differing in their several

constitutions, or particular formes of Governing, yet doe generally and unanimously account him the best Subject, and least dangerous to the State, who is most of all devoted to Catholike Religion. It is not therefore *malum in se & simpliciter*, whatsoever Doctor *Morton*, or Parson *White* say, it is not an *evil intrinsecal* to Priesthood, nor *essentially* following the profession of Catholike Religion *to be an evil subject*. If it happens to prove so at any time, it is *ex accidente*, and from the voluntary wickedness of particular men; if not (as too often it doth) from some evil constitution of State, in which the profession of Catholike Religion hath been unduly subverted, and is as unjustly prohibited and punished. Neither can it be verified of Catholike Religion *κατὰ πάντος*, or universally, as sedition and troubling the Civil Government is apparently chargeable upon *Calvinism*, and the other several professions of Protestancy. Therefore

surely

surely it was an errour both uncivil and indiscreet in those Doctors, to frame their proposition so general, onely to make us odious and suspected with his Majestie, who yet, we hope, understands us better then so, and knows, that the imputation is groundless and meerly passionate. We deal not so with them. We are ready to acknowledge, that, as to particular persons, there are many, especially among the Protestants of *England*, of more calm and moderate dispositions, of no such fiery zeal, as works in many other of their Brethren abroad; *Boni viri, boni cives*, such as we confess to be both *good men*, and *good Subjects*, of sociable nature, obsequious, not inclined to Sedition, nor desirous to persecute. And the like good Testimony doth even the Author of the *Execution of English Justice* give unto Catholikes, acknowledging their obedience and loyalty towards the late Queen, and that in a time, when they wanted not matter of com-

plaint, for the manifold oppreſſions and afflictions, which were heavy upon them. Tis true, every man may be ſuppoſed to wiſh the advancement of his own Religion, as beleeving it to be right, or the beſt: neither are Catholikes to be excepted in that point: They muſt be permitted to deſire at leaſt, and wiſh for the reſtoring of Catholike Religion, as it ought to be. But ſurely as to the means whereby they procure it, and the courſe and manner of their proceeding that ſeek and endeavor it, This treatiſe hath already ſhewen, what great odds and difference there is betwixt the proceedings of Catholikes, and that of Proteſtants. And that what the one, *viz.* Catholikes, ſeek onely by way of Petition, Supplication, Prayer and humble Remonſtrating of their Sufferances; The other, *viz.* Proteſtants, ſeek chiefly by fire and Sword and Cannon Bullet, and by Thundring of Ordnances, rather then Apologies, in their Princes

ears.

eater. Beside (or proceed a little further in this Parallel) the Catholikes generally, and for a long time, both in *Germany* and *France* were Passive, as in *England* they are still to this day; The Protestants were Active, and the offenders. Catholikes onely defend their own, maintain the possession of that, which they have quietly held, out of all memory of Men and Ages; Protestants invade, and usurp by force. Priests desire onely to keep that which they once *de jure* had; Ministers seek to get that which they had not. Catholikes obey *ex conscientiâ*, out of an inflexible principle of Conscience, and absolutely submit unto all lawful and established Government; Protestants generally speaking but upon condition, and with such limitations and restrictions of their obedience, as they themselves think good to prescribe. Priests are punished, not for any *formal wickedness*, or that which is a crime *in its own nature*, but for something that is so, onely *by interpretation*

verpretation; or in the judgement of the present State; which perhaps a few days agoe did not *judge* so, but the quite contrary. Calvinists, when they suffer, suffer for real and foule crimes, for Sedition, Rebellion, Murther, Treason, not *imputative onely*, fictitious, or made such of late by the prevailing of some particular faction in the State, but truly and properly so, and adjudged for such by all Laws Divine and Humane, of their own Countries and of all Christendom beside, long before they or their Grandfires were born. Witness the examples of this last year in *France*, of *Lesoun*, President of the Assemblies at *Rochel*, *Haute-Fountain*, *Chamier*, *P. Gombout* and some others, who all suffered for real and actual Treasons; and by vertue of such Laws, not as the Parliament at *Paris*, or some party there had procured to be enacted a few years, or a few moneths before, on purpose to entrap them; but by the ancient known Laws of *France*, by which

they

they themselves knew the Kingdom was governed, and had been ever governed time out of minde: and therefore could now in any reason but expect the execution of them upon themselves, in case they would persist to offend. Witness the Treasons of their Brother *Bischarcy* in *Poland*, who attempted to kill the King; and did indeed wound him very dangerously, as he was going to Church. They object to us the positions of some private and disavowed persons, and words onely: We object to them the resolutions of whole general Assemblies held by them, and those rebellions, which have followed thereupon, not in word onely, but in deed and in act, their real and actual Conspiracies, their many Battles really and actually fought in the Field, without lawful Authority, or any publike Call, against their Sovereign Princes; with other manifold injuries and insolencies committed. Lastly, Protestants reform commonly *per popu-*

lum

lum, and by Tumules; Catholikes do nothing of this kinde but by Law, Order, and their proper Superiors. So that the difference betwixt them is manifest; and the integrity of the professions of Catholike, in point of obedience and loyalty towards their Prince, beyond that of Calvinists, or Protestants, generally speaking, is visible to every eye.

39. Why may they not then, under the Favor of the State, enjoy like Liberty of Conscience, Person, and Estates, with other good Subjects; notwithstanding that they differ in judgement from the profession of the State? Why may not a Catholike be tolerated to live, and injoy without molestation, that which God, Nature, and the Laws of the Land do give him, as well as a Calvinist? Why should the Laws of *England* be fettered with so many Shacles of *Interpretative*, and Temporary Treason, to the prejudice of many innocent persons, and to the scandal of the Government?

ment? Admit, that for some worldly respect they were indeed necessary, in State-policy, for the times wherein they were enacted; yet the times changing so much as they have done, and those causes entirely ceasing, which made them seem necessary then, it may be thought now, not onely safe, (as undoubtedly it is) but honorable and just to repeal them. May it not with great reason be wondered at, that a Nation so Just, so Honorable, so Wise, as this of *England* hath ever been acknowledged by the Nations abroad; and settled by Extraordinary Dispensations of Divine Providence upon such Equitable, fair and just principles of government, as be constantly held forth by the Supream Authority of the Nation, should permit any thing to be counted Treason by an Act of Parliament, which is so generally over all Christendom at this day, and hath been so anciently, and even till of late times in this our own Nation, so much honored,

honored, maintained, and reverenced by all men; especially I say, when there is no cause of suspicion remaining, when there is no cause nor colour of jealousie from any persons, that desire this liberty: at least none, but what may be easily removed by the wisdom of the State; and plenary satisfaction given in that behalf, both to themselves and to all the good people of the Nation. How much Religious men and persons Ecclesiastical (now called Traytors by the Law) were wont to be esteemed in this Nation, is not necessary now to speak; our own Chronicles and the Constitutions of our very Laws themselves do abundantly declare it. If a bondman entred a Cloysture, he could not be commanded out by any power whatsoever; The Law it self anciently holding it more reasonable, that even the King should loose his interest in such a body, then that he should be taken out from the Order, which he had

chosen

chosen. The like was judged, if the Kings Wards entred Religion. An Alien by Law can hold no Lands in *England*; yet if he be a Priest, he may by Law be a Bishop here, and enjoy his Temporalties, as *Lanfranck*, *Anselme*, and some others did, who were never Denizens. It is well known, The Six Clearks of the Chancery were anciently Clearks of the Church. The Master of the Rolls, Master of Requests, Lord Privy Seal, yea the Lord Chancellors and Treasurers of the Realm not onely commonly, but in a manner constantly, till of late times, were Bishops & Clergy-men. How strange therefore may it seem, that the Laws of *England* should make a Function so ancient and honorable in *England* to be Treason? which certainly is the same function now, that it was then, when it was most honored; and hath suffered no more change, from what it first was, then Saint *Pauls* Church hath suffered change, since the time it was first built by King *Ethelbert*;

Ethelbert; that is, it is grown old indeed, and by the iniquity of the times, hath lost some part of that outward Glory, Magnificence, and Splendour, which it once had. And for Papists, if men go about to make them a Sect, and endeavor to suppress them under that notion, truly we shall be found a very ancient Sect; and I believe it will trouble the best Doctor in *England*, to assign us any other Sect-Master, any other Author and Founder of our profession, then our Saviour Christ, and Saint *Peter*. But most men know, 'tis to little purpose to attempt any thing against us that way. All other Sects have their particular Authors, and many other circumstances of their beginning assignable, easily, clearly, notoriously: I mean, not onely *Lutherans*, *Calvinists*, *Anabaptists*, and such others of yesterday, but those more ancient, *Arians*, *Eunomians*, *Pelagians*, *Nestorians*, *Manichees*, &c. only Catholikes have not; nor can any man shew when their profession began

began, or from whom it came, but from our Saviour and his Apostles. What therefore should hinder a reconciliation, and re-admission of this Ancient and Universal profession of Christianity into *England* again? I mean, unto such an equal and avowed liberty of private exercise, as other people of the Nation doe enjoy in the profession of theirs. On his Majesties part, I humbly suppose there can be little doubt made, who hath been ever of himself constantly inclined to shew mercy, if there had been no crooked and unhappy instruments about him to hinder it. *My minde*, saith the King, *was ever free from persecution, or thralling my Subjects in matters of Conscience*: And again, *Fateor me non libenter, suspendere Presbyterum*, &c. *I confess*, saith he, *it goeth much against my minde, to put a Priest to death onely for his Religion, or for saying of Maß.* He who judged, that it could no way become him, though a Prince of so great Learning and Judgement, to

pronounce

pronounce sentence lightly in so old a controversie, what Priest or Religious man can appeal to a better Judge? or from whom should they expect a sentence of more favourable compassion? He who sent into *France* to mediate for the peace of Strangers, what man can doubt, but of his own Royal inclination he is as willing to shew favour to his Subjects at home? Though we differ in Religion, yet in obedience to our Prince, and the State that protects us, we agree; neither will we be preceded in this part of our duty by any profession under Heaven. Our bodies are at the Kings service, and at the States to command; may they be pleased to leave our souls to God. Let our actions be tried; and if they finde not cause, let them not trust us. It hath bin long since observed by wise men, That too much severity doth but make men desperate; and it is an ancient Aphorism of State *punire rarò*. What an honourable addition was it to *Augustus Cæsar* his other

other Titles, that of the Historian, *Neminem civium sanguinem sitisse*, That never any subject suffered by him in cold blood: And it is as infallibly true in all generous Spirits, *Audent, si putaverit, faciet*, that confidence gains much security from them; as counting it the greatest of disgraces to be distrusted. *Multis exitio diffidentia fuit.* Fear is not always the best Guardian. *Seneca*, who lived under a Tyrant, and knew what tyranny was, gives this counsel, *Ut nos supplicia supplicia alienis putet.* Let, saith he, a Prince always observe this rule in the administration of justice, *viz.* That capital punishments be the last punishments which be inflicted, and never used, but where no other remedy will serve. And *Tacitus* observes it among other marks of *Tiberius* his cruelty, *Delatorum Auctoritas magna, frequens accusatio, & in quovis crimine adjuncta de Lesa Majestate Principis*, That Sycophants, Informers, and such fellows were the onely men a-

Sueton.

bout

bout him, and every offence was made Treason. And certainly there can be no greater Symptome, that Government declines to tyranny, then the multitude of such people attending the Courts; and that such proceedings are used. I confess the Law was once strict at *Rome*, *Deos peregrinos ne colunto*. Yet *Marcus Aurelius*, a wise and gallant Emperor, tolerated the Christians; yea, *Theodosius*, and *Gratian*, Emperors, though most most Christian and Catholike themselves, yet for some time were contented to tolerate the *Arians*, enemies of Christ. The *Venetians*, and many other Christian States permit the Jewes to live among them; as *Spain* did the Moores, till necessity at last forced the King to expel them.

20. It is a false and uncharitable Assertion, savouring too much of gall and spleen, to say (as some do) that Catholikes are unsociable, they cannot live with Protestants in one Common-wealth without jars and tumults. For is there any

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thing more visible, and in your eyes every day, then that the contrary is true? Doe we not live among you here in *England*? Have we not ever done so since the first unhappy difference and change made, peaceably, neighbourly, friendly? Doe we not buy and sell with you, and you with us? are we not ready to perform all offices of civility and good neighbourhood, where we live? Doe we refuse any kinde of temporal duties or payments? Even of our Tiths to the Ministers, which yet are in themselves a kinde of religious Salary; and if in any, surely we should boggle and shew unwillingness in them? Besides, it is a false surmise, that we hold all Protestants generally for Heretikes, and Excommunicate persons; (as some spare not to urge both in the pulpit and press, to make us odious) or that thereby we should think our selves at liberty, when we have opportunity, to deal less faithfully, justly, and truly with them, then becommeth honest men, and Christians.

Christians. For that they are not Excommunicate, I mean *specially, by name*, or by any such *sentence of the Judge Ecclesiastical*, as doth relax or debar either all or any civil duty towards them, is out of question. And to make a man Heretike, *formally* speaking and in the proper notion of that crime, obstinacie in opinion is by all confessed to be requisite, and that he persisteth deliberately therein, notwithstanding that he knoweth the opinion which he holdeth, to be contrary to the Doctrine of the Catholike Church, and to the general, unanimous, or known consent of those Pastors, which as Saint *Paul* teacheth us, ought to have *the oversight and government of him in our Lord*: which, I suppose, cannot be the case of all the Protestants in *England*. Indeed, of the Doctrine of Protestancy, as it is considered in it self, abstractedly from the persons that profess it, we say, 'tis *Heresie*, that is to say, a false Doctrine, a condemned Doctrine, a Doctrine, (so far as Doctrine

Acts 20. 28. *Heb.* 13. 7. 17. *Tit.* 3. 10.

sin can barely be) not only of dangerous, but of damnable malignity, being contrary to the Doctrine and Institutions of true Christian Religion, which our Saviour by his Apostles left unto the Church, to be professed and observed for ever; and therfore *in it self* of such nature, that it ought to be deposed by all men, who desire to be saved; and a profession whereof no man living may securely rest. This we say of their Doctrine. But as to the persons of Protestants themselves, *viz.* how far their personal errour in the profession thereof is voluntary and affectate; what means of better information they do neglect; against how much light, that is, inward knowledge and perswasion of minde, that Catholike Religion is true, they doe sin; or what secret doubtings they have that it may be true; what inward stirrings and checks of conscience they doe stifle in themselves, and persist in a way which their own hearts suspect, meerly for temporal ends, and because

cause it stands better with their designs of this world, that is, the present interests of their honours, reputation, ease, pleasure, profit, &c. or lastly, how far their ignorance of the truth may be, perhaps invincible; (which where it is so, excuseth much) of all this we say nothing. God onely knoweth how things are with them in these respects, not man; no, not the men themselves: and therefore, as concerning their persons, to his judgement onely we must leave them. This business therefore, *viz.* of Protestants being counted Heretikes by us, is but a Bug-bear, a Scar-crow set up on purpose by those our Adversaries, who would have the difference and averſions which they have bred betwixt us, to be immortal. Rather it were to be wished by all honest men, of what perswasion soever, that a just and equitable liberty in matters of conscience were granted unto all, if but for this onely respect, *viz.* That so by a free, confident, and friendly

friendly converſing one with another, void of ſuſpition, void of jealouſie, fear, danger to one party or other, and by amicable diſcourſe and debating of things, truth might come to be more cleerly diſcoverded, and we might be able, through Gods grace, mutually to give and receive good one of another. But this is a work, which hath ſo much of God and goodneſs in it, that we cannot but expect many adverſaries ſhould appear againſt it. However, thoſe Doctors *Bouteſeux* ſhould doe well to remember, if they pleas'd, that even by the Law of Seniority Catholikes might expect ſome little favour. For we beſeech them to tell us, upon what Patrimony doe themſelves and families now live, but that which the right Heirs of the Church, diſ-inherited indeed, or diſſeized by the power of the State, have left them? What Priviledges, Immunities, Honours have they, but what the old Church gave them? What Churches have

they, either Cathedral, Collegiate, or Parochial, which She built not? What Colledges which She founded or endowed not? Nay, whence have they their Bible, the Creed, the Ceremonies, or any thing else that is good and commendable among them, but from Her? If She had not preserved them faithfully to their hands, they had never found them. Shall Charity then be for ever so buried in *England*, that the posterity of those, from whom they must confess to have received these great advantages, shall never be remembred by them? never be used with equity and common justice? It were too great a shame, surely, to lye long upon such a Nation as this, and a defect of Government, which all Nations about us would observe. Beside, let our Adversaries remember what the French commonly say, *Chacun à son tour*; and we in *England*, *A dog hath a day*. Religion here with us, since King *Henry* the Eighth wore the Crown, hath had many changes

changes and exchanges, as the world knoweth: and the principles, on which it now ſtandeth, are not thought to be ſo fixed and unmoveable, but that it may take one turn more. All things are in the hands of God; and whatſoever he hath determined in the Counſel of his Divine wiſdom muſt ſtand, and take effect in its appointed due time: ſay we, or do we to the contrary, what we can. And therefore let our hot Brethren the Calviniſts, who can themſelves ſo little endure the ſeverity of Biſhops, let them not further promote, nor hold up perſecution againſt any body elſe; leaſt in an howre when they think leſt of it, the miſchief, which they wiſh to others, fall upon their own heads; and that they finde themſelves, not onely out of the Saddle (where they would be) but in the Mire, *under the Horſe belly*, and ſo obnoxious, as they may have need of favor themſelves. They deſire nothing more then *Liberty of Conſcience* in

their own way, fulness of liberty to themselves; let them be perswaded also to grant the same unto others. That this is but equal, reason it self will tell us: And that persecution for matter of Religion is not always the best means to advance religion, is the judgement of as wise and learned men, even of their own profession, as any they can shew for the contrary. What *Luthers* opinion was in the point I value no much, because the world did not take him for a man very learned or very wise; although, by Gods permission, he did much mischief in it for his time: as a simple Conjurer, though he be neither Mathematician, nor Philosopher himself, yet, by the help of the Devil, may raise a storm able to confound all the Sciences. Nevertheless what he thought appears in his Assertions, *Art.* 33. *de non comburendis Hæreticis. Urbanus Rhegius, Wolfgangus Musculus*, famous men and Protestants, both of them in their Common places

are

are much againſt perſecution for Religion. So is *Oſiander*, *Epitom. Centur. 7. Chytræus* in *Chron.* 1593. *Caſtalio*, and others. But above all *Acontius* in his Book *de Stratagemat. Satan.* is moſt earneſt. *Dominus non permittit hæreticorum ſupplicium, imò definitè declaravit, & interdixit*, &c. *God*, ſaith he, *doth not permit nor allow, that Hereticks ſhould be thus puniſhed*; yea he hath expreſly declared his minde to the contrary, and forbidden the Magiſtrate to exerciſe any ſuch Authority upon them. *Calvin* once, that is, till he had ſetled himſelf in power at *Genevah*, held the ſame opinion, and was much for *Liberty of Conſcience*, when *Annas Burges* died for Hereſie in *France*. Of the ſame judgement alſo is Monſieur *Lanou* in his Diſcourſes. *Sturmius* in his Epiſtles, *Beloy*, *Melanchon*, and many other profeſſed and earneſt Proteſtants. Not to mention *Eraſmus*, *Caſſander*, *Grotius*, or any other of that middle temper. And as for matter of example, or practiſe, do not the *Hen.* 2.

Cantons in *Switzerland* agree well enough in Temporal things, notwithstanding their difference in Religion? is mutual Toleration of one another in their severall judgements that way, any prejudice to the publike peace? Are there any people under Heaven, more happy and free then they? or more likely to continue such, so long as they keep under some few fiery zealots, that would still be blowing the coals of dissention among them? Not to speak of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, &c. doth not that famous Kingdom of *Poland* Tolerate diversity of Religions? doth not the great Emperor of *Moske* the same? and is not the general Unity of their Subjects, which ariseth thereupon, and would certainly be otherwise, if the Government were otherwise, is it not a Wall of Brass to both of them against their great enemy the *Turk*? Let *Germany* also be our example, that vast Nation, and people no less Magnanimous and Stout; is not Toleration

judged

judged expedient among them? could any thing else cure their troubles? Let us consider, how peacably and happily Catholikes and Lutherans have conversed and lived there together, for no less then an Hundred years and upwards, without any dissention, without any trouble upon the account of Religion; save onely what Ambition, and the factious Spiritednes of some particular Princes have bred, and brought upon the Country, much against the will of the people, under that pretence? No man doubteth, but *Charls* the Fifth, Emperor, and *Ferdinand* his Brother were in their times great and wise Princes; yet found they no better means to redres the troubles of State, then by commanding, *Vt utraq; pars caveret, &c. That special care should be had on both sides to compel no man, to make profession of Religion, otherwise then in his own Conscience he should be perswaded was best:* As *Dresserus* a Protestant relates it, rejecting with

much disdain the contrary opinion of some, *who*, as he saith, *would have but one Religion onely professed in the Empire*. And for *France* the case and condition of affairs there is notorious to all the world. Nor could that Kingdom ever be brought to quiet, till the Calvinists therein were brought upon their knees, that is, to such pass, as to be glad of, and to begge for that favorable Toleration of their profession from the King, which themselves in no parts of the world beside will grant to others. What reason can be given by indifferent men, why the policy of *England* should be so singular, and so differing from that of all other Christian Kingdoms and Nations about her? Why should our Government be more severe in this point, and more Sanguinary then that of our Neighbors? It may seem to reflect something upon the honor of our Nation, to mention the *Turk* in this case: Yet certainly it cannot be denied, but that Christians live quietly

quietly in his Dominions; and upon conditions so easie, that I am perswaded, the Catholikes of *England* would be well contented with the like. If onely it be determined, that we must purchase that with our money, which all other our fellow-subjects the people of this Nation, do enjoy freely, and count it their natural right. In a word therefore to conclude, seeing that both in the judgement of Protestant Divines, and in the practice of Protestant Princes, and States, Toleration of diverse Religions is held neither unlawful, nor unexpedient in Government; and seeing, that for so long a time of afflictions, persecution of our Priests, and other manifold pressures upon us for *matters of Conscience*, Catholikes have yet, through the grace of God, demeaned themselves so loyally and obsequiously in all points, as they have not done, or attempted to do, upon their own account, or for the interest and advancment of their own profession, any thing of-

ſenſive to the State, or prejudicial to the publike peace: ſeeing that nothing can be faſtned upon them in that kinde with any colour of truth, but onely the buſineſs of the Gun-Powder-Treaſon; and ſeeing that was a deviſe, though acted by the hands of ſome deſperate and wicked Catholikes, yet contrived rather by the Devil, and ſome crafty Enemies which we had in the State, (to make us eternally odious and ſuſpected in the Nation and to diſoblige ſome great perſon of his promiſes in favor of us;) as it may be juſtly thought, conſidering, what kinde of States-men ſate at the Helme in thoſe times, what knowing men, ſtrangers abroad, have writ, and what Proteſtants themſelves at home have diſcovered ſince upon that ſubject. Seeing that Catholikes always wiſhed well to his Majeſties Title, and prayed for his happy ſucceſſion to theſe Kingdoms; ſeeing we were not of Counſel with thoſe, who ſent *Beal* into forreign parts

D' Oſſat. Lettres. Liur. 2. ep. 43. Pryns. Antip. of Prelat. P. 151.

to

to promote the Title of *Suffolk*; nor that see *Hales* on work at home, as he did, with law and little art to make it good; nor that procured Sir *N. B.* to make a neſt for the Phœnix, by ſuch a great volum, as he wrote to that purpoſe: Seeing that we were ever Champions to his Majeſties juſt claim; Eſpecially Sir *Anthony Brown*, that wiſe and noble Author of the Book againſt *Leiceſter*; and that *Aiax* of the Law, (whom no man ever durſt encounter in this cauſe) Maſter *Plydon*: We hope ſo long and ſo try'd fidelity will, by the Kings gracious favor, procure us at laſt ſome liberty and refreſhment; and that our humble ſupplication ſhall be conſidered, wherein caſting our ſelves down at the feet of our Sovereign, and of the State, we beg onely of them in thoſe words of the Poet.

Hanc animam concede mihi:
Tua cætera ſunto.

Let our ſouls be left free unto God:

God: and as for our Bodies or Estates, take them, dispose of them freely, (as Justice requireth, and in due proportion with our Neighbors, and other the good people of the Nation) for the service of the Kingdom; and of the publike.

An

AN APPENDIX, Concerning LUTHERS Miſſion.

I Was now going out of the field; but behold an Ambuſh appears, which is laid to ſurprize me: it pretends at one charge to rout all the forces of my arguments, and to bereave me of my hopes of Victory, by eluding, rather then diſproving, of what I have ſaid. It is a reply, which ſome

some men are pleased to make in behalf of *Luther*; whose heat and irregular vehemency, which I call sedition, was nothing but zeal, say they, of Gods honor and truth, which burning within his own breast, happened to kindle some lively sparks also in others. They say, that *Luther* was *Elias*, a Prophet sent *immediately* and *extraordinarily* by God, to reform the errors and corruptions of the world, to restore vertue and good life, to detect Antichrist, (who had for so many ages bewitched the whole Church with his impostures, and seduced her into Idolatrie and Heresie) And that therefore such a Prophet was not to be tedder'd, as it were, and bound up to the rules of ordinary professors. But if he neglected Authority, despised the Laws, abused and insulted upon the Majestie of Princes, disturbed the peace and tranquility of their States, we are not to wonder, nor lay it to his charge: It was no more then a Prophet might do.

Tune

Tune es, qui conturbas Israel, did not *Ahab* say to *Elias*, *Art not thou he, which troublest Israel?* The world was in a Lethargy of superstition and ignorance at that time, and could not be recovered by gentle means. Such an inveterate disease, as that was, required strong and violent purgation. Thus they Plead. But it is answered, The foulest Face may have a fair Vizard put upon it: and these pretences, howsoever men may be amused at them at first hearing, are but like the Apples of *Sodom*; specious and seeming fair at the first sight; but if you touch them, they turn to ashes. I confess, *Luther* perceiving, how apt the world was at that time to *Beleeve lyes*, and to swallow whatsoever baits of Novelty and unsound Doctrine he offered them, was not asham'd to arrogate all those things to himself, that were above mentioned; and to pretend *an extraordinary calling from God* for all that alteration and stir which he made in the Church. Witness him-

himself in one place, *Ego Lutherus sum, Alter Elias & Currus Israel*, &c. *I am Luther*, saith he, *a second Elias and the Chariot of Israel.* And in another, *Tanta est dignitas mea, & Ministerium mihi Divinitus datum*, &c. *This Ministry*, saith he, *which I profess, and this Calling, which I have from God, is of that Excellency, that it is in vain for Princes or any Persons on Earth to expect submission, or forbearance from me: They must, whither they will or no, acknowledge me at length for an Holy instrument chosen of God, &c.* and yet again, *Certus sum*, &c. *I am sure*, saith he, *that I have my Doctrine from Heaven*; and therefore why should he regard any thing objected against it on Earth? *Comment.* 1. *Cor.* 1. he blusheth not to glory, that *by him* and *through his means* the Gospel was more *clearly* and *plentifully* preached, then it was *ipsis temporibus Apostolorum*, even in the times of the Apostles themselves. Which he avoucheth again, *Serm. de destruct. Jerusalem.* Nor do his followers forbear any thing

Lib. de fals. stat.

Lib. cont. Reg. Anglia.

Ibid.

thing to flatter him in this humor. The *Collocutors* at *Altimbergh* call him *The Angel of God, Elias, and the Laſt Trumpet*, alluding as I ſuppoſe, to that of the *Apocalypſe, Chap.* 11. 15. *Aretius* affirms expreſly, that he was ſent by *an immediate call from God to reform the world, bewitched*, as he ſaith, *with many impious and ungodly opinions in Religion.* But let us pauſe a while. We muſt diſtinguiſh, as I ſaid, betwixt pretenſes, and proofs; They are not all one: And they do but deceive themſelves, who think, that men will always accept the one for the other. All that theſe men ſay, comes up to this; *That* Luther *was extraordinarily ſent by God to preach Reformation, and ſuch other Doctrine as he did.* But we reply, *Extraordinary Miſſion* hath always *Extraordinary Signs* and *Arguments* going along with it, to evidence and make cleer the truth thereof to the people, unto whom ſuch *an Extraordinary Meſſenger* is ſent. Thus was it with *Moſes, Exod.* 4. who being ſent

Colloq. Altegh. P. 80. 587.

sent upon an extraordinary Message from God to the Children of *Israel*, *viz.* to bring them out of *Egypt*, where they lived in bondage; and the case being such, as they might probably not *beleeve him*, but make doubt of his calling, and say unto him, *The Lord hath not sent thee*; to remedy this inconvenience, and to give the *Israelites* reasonable assurance, that he was *indeed* sent to them by God for that purpose, The Divine wisdom doth not think it sufficient to bid *Moses stand to it, affirm it stoutly*, not to blush, nor give over saying so (which were all the *Extraordinary Arguments* that ever *Luther*, or any of his Reforming Brethren could give of their *Extraordinary Calling*) But what doth he say? *Cast thy Rod upon the ground*: So it becomes a Serpent. *Put forth thine hand, and take it*: So it becomes a Rod again; that is to say, God Almighty enabled him to do this, and many other wonderful and supernatural works before them;

and

and before the King of *Egypt*, sufficient to convince them, that he came *in truth* upon the Lords Message, and not of his own head. Thus was it also with the true *Elias*, *Elizæus*, *Daniel*, and many other of the Prophets. Thus was it lastly with the Apostles of Christ, and all Apostolical men succeeding them in that priviledge of *Extraordinary Mission*. Yea such and so absolutely necessary is *the condition of miracles* (or at least of something else equivalent thereto in the way of supernatural Extraordinary assistance and testimony) in all those, which pretend unto *Extraordinary Calling*, That our blessed Saviour saith, even of himself *John* 15. 24. That *if he had not done among the Jews works, which never any man did*, that is wonderful works, supernatural, and stupendious works, *They had not sinned*, in refusing his Doctrine. And in another place, *If I do not the workes of my Father, beleeve me not.* But this is a stone too hard for *Luthers* Teeth; we must never Chap. 10. 37.

never expect that he, or any of his followers wil answer punctually upon this subject. They do many of them, beside *Luther*, pretend to Extraordinary Calling; as *Beza* for example, publikely insisted upon it, or rather fled to it, in the Conference at *Poisey*: But if you demand miracles of them to evidence it to us, (that is such arguments as reason requires, and the experience of all ages hath afforded in like cases) they are instantly silent; or use onely such cavelling pretences and pleas, as may serve the turn of any Hereticks whatsoever, as well as theirs. For we entreat them to tell us, what can *Luther* pretend for his presumption in this kinde, Which *Calvin* and the Sacramentaries cannot? And yet tis well known, he counted them all for Hereticks of the deepest stain. Yea (to use his own words) *seriously, and in very good earnest*, he counted them so, and that *they did not belong to the Communion of the Church*. And for *Zuinglius*

Cont. Artic. Lovan.

De Canâ. Domini.

glius himſelf he held him for ſcarce a Chriſtian. What can *Calvin* or his followers pretend more, then the new Arians, Antitrinitarians, Socinians, and others plead for themſelves? And yet tis known *Calvin* burnt the principal of them, *viz. Michael Servetus*, at *Genevah*. Beſide how perillous a thing is it, and how many dangerous inconveniences may follow upon it, if onely upon pretence of *Extraordinary Calling*, (not made out and evidenced in due maner to be ſuch) men ſhould be permitted to ſeduce people into new and by-ways of Religion, at their pleaſure? Did not *Mahomet* firſt abuſe the world, upon like pretences to this? What other thing meaneth the Story of the Angel *Gabriel* ſo familiarly acquainted with him? And of the Pigeon, that ſo often viſited him with Revelations? And did not *Thekel*, another impoſture of that Sect, perſwade the *Perſian* to reform *Mahomets* Law, upon pretence that God had appeared to him

him and commanded it so, upon the top of *Anti-Taurus*. Doth not the Scripture tell us, how far *Theodas* blinded so many of the *Jews* to their destruction, upon this account? Doth not the History of the *Jews* tell us of another fellow like him, one *Bar-Cosba*, who had prevailed so far upon the people, not long before *Jerusalem* was besieidged, that *Akiba*, and some others of the chiefest Scribes and Elders, took him verily for the Messias, and interpreted all the Prophecies of Scripture concerning Christ in favor of this impostor? Neither could they see their error, till they saw *Titus* come before the City with his Army, and found themselves blockt up on all hands. Then indeed at last, they could examine his pretences; and finding him neither able to help himself or them (as they expected, their Messias should) when it was too late they fell upon him, and put him to death. Did not *Muncer* possess the Boors of *Germany*, upon

Galat. lib. 4. c. 21.

this

this very account, of *Extraordinary Calling*, that God had given him *the Sword of Gideon*, that is, power to reform and destroy at pleasure? Did not *David George* play all his prancks in *Holland* and the Low-Countries upon this score? Lastly, to come neerer home, what other pretence had *Hacket*, *Arthington*, *Coppinger*, *Henry Nichols*, and others, for those horrible Blasphemies which they vented, and their preaching themselves to be Christ, in Queen *Elizabeths* days? Were they not all of them *inspired men*? Were they not all, I mean in their own opinion, *Extraordinarily* sent? We must therefore, in such cases as these, stand well upon our guard, and not beleeve every man upon his bare word, in a matter that concerns us so much. If *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Beza* pretend *Extraordinary Mission* to teach us, contrary to what the Catholike Church, and the lawful Pastors thereof have always taught us, (although in such case we ought not to beleeve even

Gal. 1. *an Angel from Heaven*) yet at leaſt let them give us ſome competent argument and ſign thereof; or be content, if we do not beleeve them.

2. *Beza* himſelf, when he is out of Controverſie, and purſuing ſome other ſubject, can acknowledge, That God ſendeth not *Prophets now Extraordinarily*; and that we are *to keep watch of our ſouls*, when any man thinketh, that he is Inſpired of God to any work. *Let ſuch a man ſound himſelf well*, ſaith he, *and take heed, that he be not inſpired with Pride, and make an Idol of himſelf.* Very good! And may not other men alſo *take heed*, as well as himſelf, that they do not Idolize ſuch a pretender? We deſire to do no more, but to examine the pretentions of all men juſtly, yea with ſome favor. And therefore, ſeeing that in reſpect of *power*, and the working of miracles, *Luthers* Plea fails him; let us ſee how far it will hold in point of vertue, and good converſation; that is, how neer

Vindic. cont. Tyran.

heer he cometh unto *the Spirit of Elias*, whose second he would be. *Elias* was a man of retired life, sequestred, so much as could be, from all worldly conversation, and dedicated wholly unto Prayer, Contemplation and Conversing with God, and Meditating of Divine things; a great Faster, and one, that mortified his Natural Appetites and passions with much Austerity; Rigor and Penance: As also did *Esdras*, *Eliseus*, *Daniel*, Saint *John* Baptist, and all other Servants of God, imployed in such Office as *Elias* was. But *Luther* did not so; he did the clean contrary. No sooner did he apprehend himself *Called* with this *Extraordinary Call* we speak of, but off goes his Cowle immediately, that is to say, the Ensign of Obedience, Humility, Modesty: Never shall we know him guilty of those vertues again. Out of his Cloyster he runs, where he many years together (by his own Confession and other good Testimony) lie had through Gods

Cochla. in vitâ ejus.

grace, lived a good, regular, and vertuous life, in all Chastity, Piety, and Pennance. Neither does he run alone; many run with him of both Sexes. His Breviary is laid aside; his Vows forgotten, or rather sacrilegiously violated, trampled upon, despised: No more watching, fasting, praying now; then will please the flesh; But a Companion must be had, whom he calleth *Wife*; and one every way as bad as himself, and onely fit for such a Husband. All these things are much different from the spirit and practice of *Eliae*. And that we may see further, how much his minde was corrupted by his Apostacy, and how little he could endure those pristine vertues of his former profession, after he had commenced his new Ministry upon his pretended *Extraordinary Call*, see how licentiously and strangely he writes. Among the Fathers Saint *Hierome* is one observed to be much in the praise of Virginity, Chastity, Pennance, &c. For this *Luther* can-

 not

not abide him, but expungeth him out of the Catalogue of the Doctors of the Church. *Nullum scio*, &c. *There is no man living*, saith he, *whom I hate more, then I do this* Hierome, *he so magnifieth Virginity, Chastity, Fasting and Penance. Vows of Chastity*, saith he in another place, *are worse then Adultery. Tom. 6. Germ. ad Dom. Teuton.* P. 252. Tis with him matter of necessity, *a precept, yea and more then a precept, that every Man have his Woman, and every Woman her Man.* Yea, to shew the brutishness of his disposition perfectly, and that he might degrade all men, and bring them as much under the perfection of a beast, as, it seems, himself was, in the point of governing their passions, *These things*, saith he, meaning, To have company with a Woman, *can be no more forborn, then we can forbear to eat and drink, to sleep, and wake.* Yea, saith he, *tis no more in our power to live without a Woman, then it is to chuse, whither a man should bear man or no. No more*

Colloq. Conviv.

Ibid.

Ibid. P. 171.

Pag. 303.

in our power to live Chaſt, then it is to work miracles. Neither was his Counſel to others any better, then what he ſpeaks of himſelf. For meaſuring other men by his own humor, in his Book *de vi & conjugali*, (a ſubject certainly which required ſome diſcretion, and modeſtie at leaſt) yet ſee what wholſom Counſel he gives to married folke.

Pag. 147. *Si cui Mulieri maritus frigidus*, &c. *If*, ſaith he, *it happeneth at any time, that a Woman takes a Husband who proves Impotent*, that is, leſs able to perform Conjugal duty, in ſuch caſe *the Woman may lawfully demand of him, to lye with his Brother, or ſome neer Kinſman*: Lo, ſaith he, *the Horn-headed piteous fellow, her Husband, is bound by Law to ſuffer her ſo to do.* And ſo on the other ſide, if the Wife prove peeviſh, froward, or unfitting on her part, *Si Uxor nolit aut non poſſit, veniat Ancilla*, A man is at liberty to make uſe of his Maide. Elſe-where he maintaines

In Cap. 16. Geneſ. Pag. 95. *Polygamy* to be lawful. *Non eſt prohibitum*, &c. *it is no where forbidden*, ſaith

faith he, *for a man to have more Wives then one; nor would I be, that should now prohibit it, although I perswade it not.* And concludes generally, that whatsoever the ancient Patriarks are reported to have done in this kinde, is free in it self to be done, and ought not to be prohibited at this day. Thus did not *Elias* preach, nor Saint *John* Baptist, nor any of the Prophets. But of all his Doctrine concerning grace and good life is most scandalous and detestable. *Si vera Gratia est*, &c. *would you be sure*, saith he, *that the grace of God is true grace in you?* (And that with him is only Remission or Pardon of sin) *See then that you be truly sinners, sin lustily, and with a witness; onely trust as much, and be confident in Christ. For tis not sin, that can divide you from him*, (no, nothing but unbeleeving) *though you should commit Murther, Adultery, or Fornication a Thousand times in a day.* As for his Pride it was so intolerable, that even those complained of it, who were his

In *Philip.* Fol. 345. *Tom.* 1. *lat.*

followers in most things, and of his excessive scurrility even in matters most sacred. Now to speak of *Calvin*, who was little less then a professed Adversary, and taxes him frequently, not onely in point of Doctrine, but of manners and good life; nor of *Tossanus*, and others of that side, *Beza* himself who was his Friend, Disciple and Follower, confesseth plainly, *That Luther was blamed of all men for an immoderate insolency, and contumeliousness of Spirit, which he manifested in all his writings.* *Oecolampadius* tells him, *he begins and ends his work commonly with the Devil.* But *Zuinglius*, and his Brethren of *Zurick* are hottest of all, *Nullum unquam Mortalium, &c. We believe*, saith they, *that never Mortal man handled the mysteries of Christian Religion more unworthily and filthily, then Luther hath done, not observing the bounds even of common modestie and good manners.* Another calls him *Divelish Lyar*, and maintains, that he never had any *true Light or understanding*

Cont. Melanch.

Resp. ad Lasc.

Campanus.

standing of the Gospel in him. Now what then is become of *Elias*, their Prophet, the man sent so *Extraordinarily* (they say) by God to reform the world? Doth such a *Star* see nothing now but Phantasmes, and the imaginations of his own vain heart? This were very strange indeed, and the poor Country of *Germany* in an unhappy condition, to have followed a seducing Epicure so far? But who can they blame but themselves? It was too much confidence, even in the judgement of their own Brethren. For not onely *Calvin* is very angry, that the world should have such opinion of him, saying directly, *Qui volunt de Luthero intelligi, &c. They that apply the Prophesies of* Elias *unto* Luther, *do in my opinion very unadvisedly, and commit as great a sin, as those* Egyptians *did, who adored the Body and Sepulcher of the Prophet Jeremy.* But to call him *The last Elias* is unpardonable, *Sacrilega temeritatis est, &c. It is a Sacrilegious rashness*, saith he, *to do so*; as if

Admon. ultim. ad Westphal.

the Lords hand were shortned, and that he could not finde a better, or his equal to send forth, for the reforming of the Church; which was much contrary to the opinion he had of himself. I say not onely *Calvin*, but many other more moderately affected, more Allied in point of opinion unto *Luther*, do yet finde fault with those Exotick Titles and pretentions of his to *Elias*, and *Extraordinary Mission*. *Vrbanus Rhegius* both for Quality and cleer confession may serve for all, *Scimus istos Magnis clamoribus regerere, Lutherum esse Prophetam* &c. *I know*, saith he, *very well, what some men will reply with no little confidence, That* Luther *was a Prophet immediately raised by God to reform the Church*, &c. *but, Manifestum est illos pessimè de totâ Christi Ecclesiâ mereri*, &c. *They*, saith he, *who think so, or say so, deserve very little thanks of the Church of God; neither do they well by such extravagant and undue Titles to exempt any man from the Censure and Judgement of the Churches: much*

Admon. Cap. 6.

less

left to make her writings (as it were) a Rule of Faith and Believing unto all men.

And therefore, as to the pretence of *Extraordinary Mission* (a thing onely given out to amaze the ignorant world, and to countenance irregular courses) I suppose it will hardly stand in the judgement of indifferent and wise men; there is so little evidence, or argument for it: Either extraordinary, as was most requisite to have been shewen; or ordinary, that is, of but vertuous and commendable Conversation. Shall we consider a little the fruits of it, and what good it wrought in the world? Our Saviour (*Matth.* 7. 15.) speaking generally of false Prophets and such Pretenders as *Luther* was, telleth us, *By their fruits you shall know them.* And it is certain, the experience of all Nations and Ages doth confirm it, That when a Country hath the happiness to be converted from Heresie, Infidelity, or any other false and corrupt way of Worshipping God, by 3.

Preachers lawfully, and in truth sent unto them from God, some extraordinary and singular Reformation of manners doth follow thereupon, and their Conversion worketh in them a great and eminent degree of Holiness, Vertue, Piety, Devotion, and purity of Conversation, answerable to the means, which God useth, to enable them, and to the Spirit which worketh in them. But in the Reformation of *Luther* it was nothing so. The change of the world, which followed upon his preaching, was notoriously seen not to be to the better, but to the worse, both in respect of the Publike Affairs of State, and of the private manners of men. Men grew upon it much more lewd, much more vicious, unchristian, and godless in their conversation, then they were before: And this so evidently, that it is, not without much regret and shame acknowledged, even by those, who were a principal cause of it. Let *Luther* himself

speak

speak in the first place. *The world*, saith he, *groweth every day worse and worse; it is apparent, men are now much more cautious, much more malicious, and given to revenge, much more unruly, shameless, and full of all vice, than they were in time of Popery.* *Anrisaber* pronounceth as from *Luthers* own Mouth, *Post exortum Euangelium*, &c. *That since the appearance of this Gospel, vertue seems to be utterly extinct, and devotion, as it were, driven out of the world.* *Smidelin* confesseth of the *Lutherans*, That the world may easily see they are no Papists, and trust not to good works. *For*, saith he, *they do not any: The greatest part of our people*, saith *Bucer*, *seems to have imbraced the Gospel onely out of intent to shake of the Yoke of Discipline, which lay upon them, and the obligation of Fasting, Penuance*, &c. *which they were forced to observe in the time of Popery, and to live at pleasure, enjoying the full swinge of their Lust and Lawless Appetites without controule.* Lastly *Erasmus*, who was a man of intimate

Serm. in 1. Dom. Advent.

In vitâ ejus.

Bucer. de Regn. Christi. lib. 1. c. 4.

intimate acquaintance with them, and knew their ways as well as themselves, and beside, one that never writ partially in favor of Catholikes, as the world well knoweth, what a Testimony gives he of them in his *Spongia aduers. Hutten. Lutheranos video multos*, &c. *I meet*, saith he, *with many Lutherans abroad, but with such as live according to the rules, which they pretend, very few or none. Consider well*, saith he, *all this sort of people, which call themselves Gospellers, and tell me, if you can, where in the world is there more Luxury, Prodigality and Excesse used; where Lust and Debauchery on the one side, or Covetousnesse on the other rageth more. Are those people* (meaning the Catholikes) *whom yee have forsaken, and seem to detest so much, in any respect so blamable as they? Give me one example, if you can, of any one man whom this Doctrine of the Gospel,* (as you call it) *hath at all bettered in his manners, hath made of a drunkard or intemperate person, sober and well governed, of shameless or licentious mode?*

modest and chast. I can give you many, saith he, *who by turning Lutherans, are become Ten times worse then they were. What man living ever saw a Lutheran shed a Tear*, out of any sense or dislike of sin? or *so much as to breath out a sigh, or knock his brest*, in sign of sorrow and detestation of himself, that he had offended God? No verily; Contrition is not any necessary part of their Pennance, it is a thing altogether unknown among them, I mean, as to the practice and true exercise of it. Their opinion or principle of *onely Faith*, viz. *That Christ hath done all for them, and that they have nothing to do* in order to Salvation, *but to beleeve this*, is a sufficient Antidote against all such kinde of sadness, with which they like not to be troubled. Yea it is most lamentable to consider, how generally men live and dye without any other sense or feeling of their sins at all, save what the shame, prejudice or some other Temporal inconvenience (which com-

commonly attendeth the doing of evil) may, perhaps, cause in them, in relation to God they perswade themselves, that nothing is required of them, *but onely to believe that all is forgiven, That Christ hath done all that is to be done by them, and suffered all that is necessary to be suffered*, so they take no further care, but live accordingly, that is, in a most unhappy security.

4. For as concerning that other pretence, *viz.* that *Luther* should be *sent thus Extraordinarily*, as they say, *to detect Antichrist*, unless they mean by giving some example or pattern of him in his own person and practises, (which in many respects were indeed very Antichristian) I know not, how it can be understood. For if they mean, he should discover the Pope to be Antichrist, it is a fable, (I had almost said, an exploded pretence, no less vain then any of the rest, discovering more inconsideration and spleen in the pretenders, then any thing else. The Characters, which

Holy

Holy Scripture doth give of that great Antichrist, who is to come, and make War upon the Church towards the latter end of the world, are many and clear; yet so little applyable to the Pope, as not any thing can be less. The sum of them all is expressed in those Titles, which Saint *Paul* giveth him, 2 *Thess.* 2. ὁ Ἀνομίας, and ὁ Ἄνομος; by which is understood, That Antichrist must be a professed and open Enemy of our Saviour Christ, holding and maintaining all things diametrically contrary, and in opposition to him. He must be the head of a people openly and expresly at defiance with the Kingdom of Christ, which is the Church; and not onely supposed to be so in the opinion of some few men, *by interpretation*, and some strained consequence of misgovernment in that society, which is professedly Christs own Kingdom. No, the people, and followers of Antichrists Kingdom must oppose and persecute the people and followers

of

of Christ to the death. He must be an Enemy in all points, unto Christs law, to Christs Testament, to Christs Priesthood. All which he must, for some short time, Universally abolish and put down. It is not vice alone, nor some supposed superstition, nor error in opinion onely, which shall erect and constitute that accursed State, but it must be a general Apostacy and departure from the Law of Christ, (as both *Melanchon* in his Common places, and *Zanchius* a famous Protestant in his answer to the Arians do acknowledge) it must be an opposition publike and professed to the same Law, γουῆ τῆ κεφαλῆ, as they say, and a persecution of the Professors thereof general all the world over. But doth Saint *Peters* Successor thus? are these things applyable to the State of the Church under his government? What face of Brass can maintain it without blushing? Doth he persecute any man for professing Christ? Or doth he punish or censure any, but

Basil. 1562. Pag. 34. *Tom.* 7. P. 875.

but according to his office, and as the Canons of the universal Church enacted, acknowledged and exercised by all Christian Princes and good Prelates before him, do prescribe? Doth not *Luther* himself confess, that in *the Papacy true Christianity, is still retained?* Doth he not confess, that *the Popes Church* (as he calls it) *is the Church of God?* That *there is true Baptism, true Absolution* or Remission of sins *among them, the true office of Preaching, yea the true Catechism*, that is, the Summary of all Doctrines necessary to be preached? Are these things to be maintained by Antichrist? Or to be found and profess'd in that rabble of Miscreants, which shall follow him? Doth not *Whitaker, Junius, Saravia, Zanchius*, and almost all Protestants generally acknowledge as much, that we hold at least, the principal Articles of faith, That we agree in Fundamentals, That the *Roman* Church is a true Church of God, yea our Mother Church, in whom is yet remaining *Contra. Anabap.*

maining, and from whom *English* Protestants at least, pretend to have received True Ordination, True Calling and Authority to preach? Lastly, is there any Prince or Person on Earth that professeth greater reverence and observance to the Law of Christ, then the Pope doth? How then can he be Antichrist? is there any Power or Authority known in the world more vigilant, active, zealous, and continually attent to preserve this Law in its full Honor, Estimation and Integrity with all men, then the Sea Apostolike hath always been, and is? Nay (to speak ingenuously and seriously) in what condition, think we, had Christianity been at this day, if that Authority had not been established and acknowledged in the world; but that all things had been left to those Arbitrary and dividing Principles on which Protestancy pretendeth to build, viz. *Sole Scripture*, and *every mans private Interpretation*, or *Reasoning*: The destructive inconvenience whereof are

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apparently seen at this day; may it please the *Divine Goodness* to give us grace to lay them to heart, as is meet. 'Tis true, in their opinion, and as they have confidence to say, *Filia devoravit Matrem*, The Daughter, (that is the Protestant Congregations) have over-reached the Mother-Church in perfection of wisedome, and hath been able to reform Her in some parts; yet certainly they ought not to pretend Her to be so foulely apostatized, as that Antichrist should govern there, where *Calvin* himself confesseth, even in the deepest of her supposed Errours, there hath ever remained *inviolable Fœdus Dei, The Covenant of God inviolate*. Beside, the Apostacy of that great Antichrist must be a publike thing, notorious and visible to all men, not secret, nor creeping on by degrees, and unperceived till after some long tract of time. He is *Stella cadens de Cœlo*, and drawing a third part of the Stars with him; so strangely, as it shall astonish and amaze the world to observe

Institut. lib. 4. c. 2. Sec. 11.

observe it. Whereas (to suppose the worst that can be) The departure of the Roman Church from the purity of Christian Faith, and that Apostacie, which should make her become of the Church of Christ the Synagogue of Antichrist, was so obscure, so invisible, such a long time of drawing on; that as the greater and better part of Christendom doe not perceive it unto this day, so of them which pretend they doe, there is scarce any one couple among them can agree upon the time of his Appearance. *Many Ages ago*, saies *Calvin*, but *when*, he dares not speak. *Napier* a Scot, and a great Traveller in this pretended search of Antichrist, is of opinion, that he hath reigned ever since the time of Pope *Sylvester*, and the year 313. and so very wisely makes all the Christian Emperors, Kings, Queens, &c. that succeeded *Constantine*, yea and *Constantine* himself (who dyed not till the year 340.) in stead of being *Nursing Fathers*, *and Nursing Mothers* of the Church

Church, and Defenders of the Faith of Christ, (as by the Prophesies of Scripture concerning them they were to be, *Psal.* 72.11. *Isa.* 49.23.) to have been the supporters of Antichrist, and advancers of his Superstitions. *Beza* assigneth Pope *Leo*, and the year 440. Doctor *Fulk*, *Willet*, and *Downham* seem to name *Boniface*, and the year 607. *Bullinger*, and some other with him are content to stay longer, and expect some hundred of years more, *viz.* untill the time of *Hildebrand*, that is, Pope *Gregory* the seventh, & the year 763. yet Doctor *Whitaker* sayes Pope *Gregory* the first was the last true Bishop of *Rome*, and all that followed after him Antichrists. *Perkins* thinketh Antichrist appeared about 900 years since, *Hospinian* 1200. *Danæus*, about the year 574. It were infinite to relate their jarring and contradicting of one another in divers other very material circumstances touching this question; as whosoever please to see, may finde in such Catholike Writers

as

as have handled this controversie; but especially in cardinal *Bellarmin.*

5. Now seeing *Luther's* pretended Calling proves so unjustifiable, and hard to be made good, we must of necessity take some liberty to look further into the business, and to examine what his *True Calling* was, and who it was indeed that set him on work to play such odd pranks in the Church of God. Of this there goeth a black Story, which divers men labour to palliate and disguise (as well as they can) divers wayes: but *Luther* himself telleth the plain truth, *viz.*: that it was the Devil that first set him on work to write against the Mass; which all men know is the Principal and most Divine Office of Christian Religion, and whereunto whatsoever else is done in Religion, in one way or other relateth. In his Book *de abroganda Missa*, thus he writeth. *Contigit me sub mediam noctem subito expergefieri; ibi Satan statim cepit disputandi disputationem. At midnight*, such a time, saith *Luther*, I hap-

happened to be suddenly awaked out of sleep; and presently the Devil fell a disputing with me: and so he proceeds in his Narrative; wherein all all those Arguments are formally produced and urged by the Devil, upon which *Luther* afterward resolved to abrogate Mass; as any man may see in the Book it self above cited, which is commonly extant with the rest of his Works. This with Doctor *Fulk*, *Clarke*, and some others, is onely a spiritual combat in minde, which, they suppose, *Luther* might have with the Devil, as many other good men have had in spirit; but not any real or personal conflict. But we reply, whether those reasons came from the Devil by bodily and outward conference, or onely by way of inward suggestion, it is not so material; that they came from the Devil, in the opinion and apprehension even of *Luther* himself, is confessed. But Secondly, *Luther* in that Narrative, describeth the very voice and accent of the Devil in the

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disputation; which he saith was a great, yet a base and hollow voice; and which so affrighted him, that he sweat again; although, as himself confesseth against the *Swenkfeldians*, upon other occasions, such encounters were not unusual with him, but rather familiar. Thirdly, the Devil (knowing his humour) flatters him with Titles, and calls *Doctor, very learned Doctor*, up and down the disputation. Fourthly, *Luther* affirming elsewhere, that *Empser*, and *Oec lampadius* (two Preachers of Reformation, but not of his strain) were strangled by the Devil, confesseth here, that *this encounter was like theirs*: though he had the good hap to come off alive; perhaps because he yeelded: as neither *Job*, Saint *Paul*, nor ever any good man ever did. See *Hospinian* also a *Calvinist*, in his *Historia Sacramentaria*. Fifthly, *Jo. Manlius*, a great *Lutheran* Preacher, and *Luther* himself *Epist. ad Patrem Tom.* 2. *Witteb. fol.* 269. confesseth, that he was frequently haunted by Spirits,

rites, and that Satan used personally to affright and molest him; he maintaines that *Zuinglius*, *Carolstadius*, &c. had their several Expositions of the words, *Hoc est corpus meum* from the instruction of the Devil, why may it not then be as probable, that they had all one Master? Sixthly, *Baldwinus*, another *Lutheran*, writes a Book purposedly upon this Subject, and confesseth in plain termes, That it was a real Truth, no fiction or dream, but a matter of fact, and a true Story. His onely excuse of it is this, *It happened*, saith he, *after Luther had abandoned the Mass*, and thinkes the Devils intent was onely to bring to *Luthers* remembrance *his old errours*, that he *had been a Priest, and said Mass fifteen years together, and so to drive him to despair.* But truly, if that were all the design, *The Devil was but an Asse* To attempt such a tried souldier as he was, armed *cap a pe* with a confidence invincible, and the Doctrine of *only Faith*, with such a blunt and

feeble weapon as despair? *Luther* was a man out of his reach for that. He that teacheth, nothing can hurt a Christian but *onely unbelief*; *That if a man should commit adultery or murder a thousand times a day, it could not divide him from Christ; That the greater sinner a man is, the neerer he is to Gods grace*; could such a man, think we, be brought *to despair*, onely by being told that he had said Mass in his time? and this too, as himself confesseth somewhere, with *a very pious intention*, and thinking that he had pleased God, and done very well in so doing? Neither is there any passage in the whole disputation to insinuate such a purpose. The Devil only plies his arguments against Mass, against Priesthood, and nothing else. And therefore if it must needs be granted, that the disputation happened after that *Luther* had abrogated the Mass, it may be much better thought, that he began to stagger in his enterprize, and to repent, perhaps, of what he had done;

Supr. Sec. 2. med.

done; and that the Devil saw it necessary to re-inforce his former, and but private suggestions (which yet had misled him) by a second and more solemn encounter. However 'tis clear, he was so far from pretending to make *Luther* despair, that he apparently tempts him to *presumption*, while he blames him and *the Papists* for not having more *confidence*, for making as if Christ were unmerciful, by their flying to the Mediation of Saints and Angels. And this by the way is another argument, that the business fell out before *Luther* had abandoned Mass, and not after, as this Author pretendeth. For that it is now onely related, *viz.* when *Luther* wrote his Book *de Abroganda Missa*, (which was about the year 1521. and perhaps after he had abolished Mass) yet it proves not but the Conference might be some yeares before. For 'tis well known, (and himself professeth it often) that *Luther* fell by degrees into Heresie, and not into all at once; and that he

Sur. Chron.

maintained Paradoxes but the last, which at the first he did not so much as think of. So that having lost of the vanity and pride of his heart given the Devil an advantage over him, by his consenting in the business of Indulgences in the year 1517. he lay open to any further temptation afterward. Add here unto that in the procedure of the dispute, the Devil sayes thus to *Luther*, *Hæc Unctio tua vanior est, quam Baptizatio Saxi.* *This thy Anointing* (saith he, meaning that of his Priesthood) *is a vainer thing, then if thou shouldst baptize a stone.* Which plainly insinuates, that *Luther* was look't upon by his Adversary at that time as a Priest, and one that used to say Mass; and therefore it was before he had renounced either the one or the other.

Master *Chillingworth* in his answer to his own Motives, hath a conceit beyond all these. He denieth not, but that the Story is true, the disputation real, nor but that it was while *Luther* was a Priest, and said

Mass;

Mass; But supposing Mass to be evil, he thinketh the Devils design was thereby naturally to keep him closer to it, viz. to saying Mass: as knowing that any man, and consequently *Luther*, would be shye of imbracing that which the Devil should do so apparently recommend unto. But doubtless if we were to engage our selves in all manner of uncertain thoughts, if leaving the certain Rule of Faith, and the endless clear evidence of Fact (which in all cases of this nature are the best grounds to frame a right judgment upon) we should give our selves liberty to conjecture and suppose whatsoever may come in our minds. It is far better, and more safe to stick to the Rule; such arbitrary conjectures having commonly more of prejudice and private Interest (not to say passion) in them, then of sound and unbyassed reason. Now doth not the Scripture tell us, that the Devil is the *Father of lyes, a lyar from the beginning*? Is he not the Enemy of God,

and the great enemy and deceiver of Soules? Are we not commanded to *resist his Temptations*? to *beware of his wiles*? not to hearken to his ſuggeſtions? why doe we not ſo? why will we deceive our ſelves, by pretending, even in our compliance to his ſuggeſtions, as it were to over-reach him, who is a Spirit, yea the quinteſſence of deceit, and infinitely more crafty (I ſay not, then we can be, but) then we can imagine?- You will ſay, ſhall we not hearken to him, when he perſwades us to good? I anſwer, He is a Spirit, *tantùm non* Eſſentially malicious, that is, immutably and unchangeably ſo; he is confirmed in evil, through the act and demerit of his own perverſe will, as the Bleſſed Spirits are in all good by Grace. And therefore, though by the permiſſion of God he can ſometimes depoſe his own natural and ugly ſhape of Evil, and *Transform himſelf*, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, *into an Angel of Light*, yet he can never perſwade us to good, but out of ſome

some evil design: and that obliged us to stand well upon our Guard, whensoever we perceive him, to suspend our consent, to deliberate, to take all good advise, and to beware, though the thing which he perswades were never so apparently good and honest; lest, I say, we be caught by his wiles, which are many, and so intricately woven many times, that they are not easily perceived at first. As in this very case and combat with *Luther*, surely he was not so dull, as to think that *Luther* should be *directly* perswaded *by him* to any thing, or that he would take any thing *directly* upon his word, argument, or persuasion onely; who can imagine this in reason? But this, I suppose, we may, *viz.* That he might think, *Luther* upon this disputation, and seeing the Devil so earnest against Mass, might be apt to have many apprehensions in himself, and cast in his minde This and That, and probably enough that very thing in particular which

Master *Chillingworth* pitched upon, *viz.* That he should think *The Devil does but prevaricate with me all this while, and seemingly tempts me from that, to which he would have me stick close:* which apprehension alone, considering how much wavering and unsetled in his minde he was already, the Devil knew wel enough would be able to carry him cleerly to the point whither he most of all desired to bring him, which was to renounce his Orders, and to abrogate Mass. As the event most unhappily shewed to be true; yea and as *Luther* himself in the sequel of the Discourse doth seem more then to intimate, answering an objection which some body made in these words, *An ignoras Diabolum esse Mendacem, &c. Know you not that the Devil is a Lyar? why then would you be perswaded by him? why would you beleeve him?* Thereupon he enters a discourse of the various fetches and stratagems which Satan useth to deceive soules; and sufficiently shewes how much he deceived

himself

himself; by thinking to be too cunning for the Devil. Doctor *Morton* in his Apology hath the last Plea; but it is the most impertinent of all. For by telling a Story out of *Delrio* his *Magia. lib. 4. c. 1.* of the Devil appearing to an Abbot, and perswading him to say Mass, he would conclude *ad hominem*, that we especially ought not to hold it alwayes to be evil, which the Devil tempteth a man unto; nor consequently good, because he disswades us from it. But the case is so unlike, and there are so many mistakes in the report of it, that it might well have been spared, had it not been, that the Doctor would seem to say something more then had been said before him. For first it was not an Abbot, but a Monk, whom the Devil tempted to say Mass. Secondly, That Monk was not yet Priest; and so it was against the Canons, yea it had been a grievous sin in him to have said Mass: This was fit matter indeed for the Devil to tempt a man

Lib. 2. Part. 2.

unto; but, it seemes, it was not so fit for the Doctors purpose to mention this circumstance, and therefore he leaves it out, as he useth to do sometimes in other like cases. Thirdly, neither did Satan enter any disputation with the Monk either to prove, or disprove Mass. Fourthly, nor did the party tempted consent. Fifthly and lastly, neither did Mass then first begin, which is a thing principally to be regarded. It was not (in the substance of the thing) a Novelty, which the Devil tempted unto, but an office of Religion generally acknowledged, professed, observed in all Christendom over. That which *Luther* was tempted unto (to say the least of it) was a Novelty, and therefore *ex naturâ rei*, necessarily and in all reason to have been suspected; and which he would have suspected, had he not been blinded with self-conceit, and preferred his own single opinion and fancy above the sense of the whole

whole Church; which to do is an argument of *most insolent Madness*, as Saint *Austin* speaketh. Epist. 118. cap. 5.

This may suffice to have inserted concerning *Luthers* Vocation or Calling, as well that which he pretended, as that which was true; I should now give you his Character, but that he hath done himself to the life, in his writings and practises mentioned already: Yet, if you please, for a taste of his modestie I shall adde a word or two, (not more) out of his own writings; and first concerning the Fathers, *Colloq. Convival. cap. de patrib.* he rejects them all. Saint *Hierome hath not a syllable in all his writings of faith or true Religion.* Chrysostom *was a meer babler.* Basil *a Monke all over, and otherwise not worth a Button.* Tertullian *was a Dunce, a mere Carolstadius among the Doctors.* Cyprian *a poor Divine.* Austin himself, *hath nothing singular concerning faith.* And for Saint *Ambrose* he *wrote most drily and impertinently*

upon

upon Genesis Saint Bernard indeed is the best Preacher of them all; but where he disputes, he is all for Free Will. And so concludes at last, that Melanchthons Apology hath more true Divinity in it, then all the Doctors of the Church. Secondly, in respect of the Saints. *Serm. de Nativit. Mariæ. We are all Equal to the Mother of God, and as great Saints as she.* Fol. 442. *Ep. 1. Pet. 1. When we are once regenerate*, saith he, *and made the Children and Heirs of God by Faith, and are all Equal in dignity to Saint Peter, Saint Paul, yea unto the Blessed Virgin her self Mother of God. We have the same treasure in us, which they have; and all the graces of God as largly bestowed upon us, as they.* Which may seem not a little strange, considering what he saith of himself elsewhere. *Nihil singulare in vitâ meâ eminet*, &c. *There is not any thing*, saith he, *very singular or extraordinary, in the manner of my life. I can jest, I can play, I am a merry companion* Colloq. Franckford. Fol. 445.

with

wise men; yea (to God's glory be it spoken) not seldom I love to take a lusty Cup also, &c. But by his leave where did the Saints of God thus? *Elias* was no such Boon, no such Jovial Companion; it was not the Language, much less the Exercise of Gods Prophets to Carowse and Quaff in this manner. Saint *Paul chastized his Body, and held it in subjection* by Fasting, Watching, and Penance; did not pamper it, nor study to please his Appetite with Drink and Belly-cheer, as *Luthers* fashion was; Who both lived and died an Epicure, beside all his other crimes; and his too much Indulgence towards his Genius in that kind shortned his own days: as may be more then probably collected from the reports of good Authors; not excepting some of his own, *Justus Jonas, Aurifaber*, and others. *Sur. Chron. Ulember. vitâ Luth.*

I should adde here a word or two concerning the *Vocation* of *Calvin* to his Ministery; but it was 8.

much

much the same with that of *Luther*. For he finding *France* a Country too hot for him, ever since the Iron was set to his Shoulder, takes a Voyage first into *Germany*, then afterward into *Italy*; where getting entertainment in the house of the Duchess of *Ferrara*, a Lady inclined to new opinions, in time he creates himself a preacher of the Reformation: *Extraordinarily* too, you may be sure; For no man living gave him Authority, but himself. From thence he goeth to *Geneva*, with intent to set up and exercise: but, as we have said, his first attempt failed him; and he was constrained to retire for a while to *Strasburgh*. Yet his party at last prevailing at *Geneva*, he returned, and seized his Chair of Pestilence there, which he held unto his death. But I have not obliged my self to write the Character, or life of any persons. My Task was onely to shew, That Catholikes in general were as good

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Subjects, both in respect of their principles and practice, as Protestants in general, and better then the most: And this I conceive is already done; And therefore I shall trouble the Reader no further.

The

The Jesuites special Vow.

THe ſociety of the Bleſſed name of Jeſus endureth much prejudice with many men, by reaſon of a certain *Special Vow* (as they call it) which they are ſaid to make to his Holineſs, over and above the Three Common Vows of Chaſtity, Poverty, and Obedience. It is generally conceived by Proteſtants, that by vertue thereof they ſtand obliged, upon command, and at the pleaſure of his ſaid Holineſs, to attempt the life of Kings, eſpecially thoſe, which he hath declared to be Hereticks, or Excommunicated, to murther

ther Princes, to embroyl and trouble States, and in a word, to plot and execute any Treasonable design whatsoever that may advance the Popes Interest. But that the world may see how much they are wronged herein, and know both what the substance of that *Special Vow* is, and what the Intent, Matter, and End of such Million of Command from his Holiness ought to be; which they promise so presently to obey, it is here Transcribed out of the Bull of Constitution of Pope *Paul* the Third, by which their Order was Confirmed in the year 1540. and runnes thus.

And

AND further we judge it expedient for our greater Devotion to the See Apostolick, and more full Abnegation of our own wills and pleasures, That the Professed of this Society, beside the Common band of the Three Vows, (viz. of Chastity, Poverty and Obedience) be further tied by special Vow: So as that whatsoever the Roman Bishop for the time being, shall command, pertaining to the Salvation of Souls, and propagation of the Faith, they shall be bound to execute the same, without Tergiversation or Excuse; whether they (shall) be sent unto Turks, or unto Infidels, yea even unto those that are commonly called the Indies, or unto any other Hereticks or Schismaticks whatsoever.

Now

Now what danger can arise unto Princes from such a vow as this, further then the Preaching of true Christian Catholike Faith, and the advancement of Religion is counted dangerous to their worldly Interests, unhappily setled in opposition to it. The indifferent Reader may judge.

FINIS.

Errata.

PAg. 7. in margin. r. lib. 51. P. 8. in margin. l. 2. r. lib. 120. l. 3. r. ibid. deleatur *Thuanus* lib. P. 53. deleatur all that is in the margin. P. 132. l. 3. r. deny. P. 268. l. 18. r. condemned. P. 284. l. 05. r. delete. P. 309. l. 4. r. principal. 388. l. 10. r. Thirty Thousand. P. 435. l. 24. r. seem. P. 439. l. 9. r. pulling down. P. 440. l. 3. r. did therefore. ibid. l. 4. r. amazed. P. 453. l. 26. r. manifold. P. 487. l. 9. r. whit. P. 564. l. 7. r. Catholikes. P. 578. l. 24. r. *Chacun*. P. 573. l. 8. r. we. P. 606. l. 3. r. not. P. 618. l. *ult*. r. inconveniences. P. 624. l. 10. r. calls him.